Columbia University
in the City of New York

LIBRARY

A

CENTURY

OF

UNIVERSALISM

IN

PHILADELPHIA AND NEW-YORK,

WITH

SKETCHES

OF ITS HISTORY IN READING, HIGHTSTOWN, BROOKLYN, AND ELSEWHERE.

BY

ABEL C. THOMAS.

"Not by might nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts."

PHILADELPHIA:

Published for whom it may concern.

1872

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1872, by
ABEL C. THOMAS,
in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

STEREOTYPED BY J. PAGAN & SON, PHILADELPHIA.
COLLINS, PRINTER.

Inscribed to M. Louise Thomas,

IN

Testimony

OF

HEAD, HEART, AND HAND-HELP

DURING

MANY YEARS OF MY MINISTRY.

68407

INTRODUCTORY.

2 Kings vi.

AND it was told the king, saying, Behold the prophet is in Dothan. Therefore sent he thither horses, and chariots, and a great host; and they came by night and compassed the city about. And when the servant of the man of God was risen early, and gone forth, behold, a host encompassed the city both with horses and chariots. And his servant said unto him, Alas! my master! how shall we do? And he answered, Fear not; for they that be with *us* are more than they that be with *them*. And Elisha prayed, and said, Lord, I pray thee, open his eyes, that he may see. And the Lord opened the eyes of the young man, and he saw: And behold, the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha.

— After all the endeavors of one hundred years, we are numerically, in the sense of organization, a small people. We are surrounded by sects differing in name but holding substantially the same anti-Universalist creed; and there is sometimes the dismay and questioning of the young man. Whoso shall have his eyes opened, will understand the assurance of the prophet.

I do not claim that all the beneficent changes of a century are attributable to Universalism. I grate-

fully acknowledge the benign influence of science, philosophy, literature, the arts, civilization in general — also the power of good men everywhere, building wiser and better than they knew: Yet I do hold that Universalism has been the inspiration of all these instrumentalities. Universalists have not always been in the fore-front of reforms, but Universalism has. The creed has always been in advance of the men, whereas in all other cases the men have been in advance of the creed. And it is because the principles of Universalism have been absorbed by outside progress, that Universalism as an organization is so restricted this day.

Times have changed, and men have changed: Universalism remains, as it has always been, a divine prophecy. The literature and science of the age, the rostrum and the most influential pulpits of the land, the outside world of common sense, the philosophies and even the reform-visions of the nineteenth century, are undoubtedly permeated and saturated by the principles of Universalism; and it is more than a rumor that multitudes of people who avow themselves to be Universalists in principle, are members, without protest or scruple, of churches of strictest orthodox repute.

This is indeed the side from which Universalism has latterly, in effect, been assailed. By many, it is not openly condemned. There are cases, too, in which not one of the consecrated dogmas of antiquity is insisted upon, but only a covenant of mutual watch-care, as the essential obligation.

This appears to be liberal, but we cannot reciprocate. The final reconciliation of all souls is the dis-

tinctive thought in our profession of faith, and we cannot cancel or suspend that, for the accommodation of any unbeliever.

If others, setting aside the fundamental items of their creed, open wide their doors to Universalists, let us render thanks for proffered welcome, but decline to enter, for the reason that we do not relish the savor of the entertainment. Especially let us thank God, and take courage, that the olden theory is on its way to judgment.

I do not charge myself with pursuit of aliens or rebuke of indifferentists. I purpose simply to set forth the rise and visible progress of Universalism as a doctrine and an organization, within certain limits. And when we are told of legions of the contrary part, whereas *we* are too few to be reckoned in comparison, we have only this answer of the prophet: They that be with *us* are more than they that be with *them*.

— Universalism is indeed both the Heart and the Head of Christianity. Alike its supplications and its thanksgivings, neither transcending the other, are for all sorts and conditions of men. Its spirit maketh intercession for the saints, that they may be steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord — and for the wicked, that they may be drawn or led into the obedience of the just. And so the charity of the Lord, encircling all souls, shall yet exalt the praises of the heavens, by revelation of his glory in all the earth.

We are not blind to the activities of sin, the stir and craft of multitudes who lie in wait to deceive, and who practically reject every negative in the

decalogue. And we look with lamentation upon the grossness of the masses who seem to have no aspiration higher than the lust of the eye and the lust of the flesh, and are not moved into decency of demeanor by even the pride of life. We are not blind to the crimson and the scarlet of man's selfishness and sinfulness; nor are we afflicted, as charged by some, with morbid sentimentalism, for assuredly we pray for David when we plead in behalf of Absalom, and the honor of Christ's dominion is involved in the triumphs of superabounding grace.

We can trace abounding sin and condemnation to the postulate of the serpent in the garden — namely, that there is escape from the consequences and penalties of transgression. The theories of the churches make this devil's lie essential. How else can there be hope or help for any, since all have sinned? The false emphasis of a single word in the Bible has ruined millions — and yet that false emphasis is claimed to be canonical and evangelical! How shall we *escape?* is the question outside of Universalism: How shall *we* escape? classes us with myriads who failed in the experiment, Heb. ii. 2,3. And we hold that the certainty of a merciful punishment is of vastly greater solemnity and restraint, than is the terror of a merciless but uncertain judgment. The foundation of the Lord standeth sure. Whoso buildeth upon it with imperishable things, symbolized by gold, silver, precious stones, *shall receive a reward.* If any man's work, represented by wood, hay, stubble, be burned, *he shall suffer loss,* but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire, 1 Cor. iii.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

George de Benneville — John Murray — Thomas Potter — Bachelor Hall — Benezet — Rev. Jacob Duché — Anthony Cuthbert — Elhanan Winchester — Baptist Church — Seed of the Woman — Ejectment of Winchester — Outcasts Comforted — Hall of the University — Universal Baptists — Winchester and Murray — Free Mason's Lodge — Convention of 1790 — Articles of Faith — Memoranda — Winchester Confession — Death of Mrs. Murray . . . . . Page 17

CHAPTER II.

Stir among the Baptists — Lamentation of Benedict and Rev. H. G. Jones — Sketch of Rev. Nicholas Cox — William Worth and his Appeal — Artis Seagrave and Hymns — David Evans and his Pamphlets — Abel Sarjent, Editor of Free Universal Magazine — Moses Winchester — Timothy Banger — Noah Murray — Thomas Jones — John Rutter 39

CHAPTER III.

Universal Baptists — Free Mason's Lodge — A New Church — Elhanan Winchester — Rev. Thomas Jones — Rev. Noah Murray — Rev. Geo. Richards — Church of the Restitution — Sad End in 1814 — Ungenerous Commentary — Rev. Ebenezer Lester — Rev. David Gilson — Timothy Banger — Rev. Abner Kneeland — New Departure — Berean Society — Rev. Hosea Ballou — Second Church — Rev. William Morse — Kneeland and McCalla — Rev. Stephen R. Smith — Rev. Pitt Morse — Rev. John Chambers — Rev. Z. Fuller — Rev. T. Fiske — Franklin Institute 62

CHAPTER IV.

Rev. Abel C. Thomas — Early Experience — Christian Party in Politics — Church Chains — A Politician's Plan — Burial-Grounds — Day of Fasting — Politician — Ely and Thomas Discussion — Corrections — Universalism Renounced — Presbyterians and Infidels — Catechism — Rev. S. W. Fuller — Review of Rev. James Patterson — The Heathen — Two Institutes — Rev. Hosea Ballou — Nine Sermons — Kensington — Rev. William L. McCalla — A Discussion — Reform Convention — Need of a Politician — George Combe Page 87

CHAPTER V.

Second Church — Death of Rev. S. W. Fuller — Rev. T. D. Cook — Rev. L. B. Mason — Rev. C. C. Burr — Church closed — Rev. A. B. Grosh — Rev. N. Doolittle — Sale of Callowhill St. Church — Eighth St. Church — Rev. R. Eddy — Removal of a dead Brother — Monument — Several Pastors — Rev. M. Ballou re-settled — Sale of Eighth St. Church — Germania Hall — New Church — Kensington — Native American War — Church in Trouble — Spiritualism — First Church — End of the World — Lectures — Rev. Mr. Coval — Church of the Messiah — Rev. Dr. Brooks — Roman Catholic Controversy — Rev. G. Collins — Liturgy — A Great Scheme — Rev. R. Eddy — Rev. H. C. Leonard — Fidelity 111

CHAPTER VI.

Sunday Schools in Philadelphia — Pamela Marsh — Philadelphia Hymn Books — Silas Ballou — Philadelphia Periodicals — D. Francis Condie, M. D. — Philadelphia Union Association — Pennsylvania State Convention — Recommendations of 1790 — Ceremonials — Rev. John Samuel Thompson — Good Helpers — Franklin — Dr. Benj. Rush — Dr. William Shippen — Thomas Say — Dr. Joseph Priestly — Christopher Marshall — Thomas Dobson — James P. Espy — The Tunkers . . . 135

CHAPTER VII.

Murray and Winchester — Redemption of Devils — Hosea Ballou — Origin and History — Infallibility of Christ — Representative Men — Canon of N. T. — Unity in diversity — What became of Universalism — Clemens and Origen — Reformers — Reformation of All Souls — Grandeur of Christ — The Holy Ghost — Resisted and Grieved — Resisted and Quenched — Teacher and Guide — Blasphemy — The Comforter — Tillotson's Suggestion — Macknight's — Watt's — Dr. Adam Clarke's Plea for Absalom, Judas, Ananias and Sapphira — Hope for Sinners — Joy for Saints Page 162

CHAPTER VIII.

Value of Organization — An Old Meeting-house — Rev. John Murray — Alice Brown — Energy of Faith — A Church Organized — Excommunication — Letter in Reply — Rev. Abel Sarjent — Thomas Brown — Robert Lawrence — Pitiful Piety — A Dumb Church — Gloom and Decay — Sale of the Meeting-House — Thrice Removed — A Hay-Barn — Banner Cry of Zion — James Boone — James Scott — German Magazine — Manna in the Wilderness — Jacob Grosh — Rev. Jacob Myers — Rev. Samuel Longenecker — Missionary Life — Whom shall I send? — Pottsville — Easton — Cry under Fallen Altars 187

CHAPTER IX.

READING — Rev. T. Fiske — Rev. W. L. Hawley — Philadelphia Association — Shipwreck — Dedication of the Church — Sunday School — L. Briner — Rev. E. S. Ely — Rev. Samuel Ashton — Dr. Ely again — Rev. A. B. Grosh — Rev. James Shrigley — Rev. G. J. Kredel — Rev. Wm. N. Barber — Rev. B. Peters — Rev. Giles Bailey — Memoranda — Parsonage — Standards — F. S. Boas — Symbolic Painting — Church Bell — Sunday School — The Lord's Benediction 207

CHAPTER X.

Hightstown — Daniel Johnes — Samuel C. Johnes — Richard Norton — Rev. S. C. Henry — Upham Brothers — Cedar Grove School House — Rev. W. L. Hawley — Rev. T. J. Sawyer — An Association — To Good Luck — Second Visit — Gathering in an Orchard — John C. Ward — Third Visit to Good Luck — Old Baptist Meeting-House — Joseph J. Ely — Rev. John H. Gihon — Rev. Thomas J. Whitcomb — Rev. Asher Moore — Death of Samuel C. Johnes — Clara Barton — Rev. G. Collins — Death of Richard Norton — Rev. T. Fiske — Excelsior — Rev. H. R. Walworth — Rev. Abel C. Thomas — Rev. G. Collins — Death of Isaac Pullen — A New Church — Rev. E. Hathaway . . Page 222

CHAPTER XI.

Thomas Potter — His Death — Desire to Visit his Meeting-House — Way of getting to it — Through The Pines from Hightstown — Breaking in upon the Wilderness — Sermon in the old Meeting-House — A Tomb-Stone — Memorial Acre — Conference of Sept. 28, 1870 — One Hundred Years — Interesting Record — Hon. Edwin Salter — Old Methodists — Church on the Coast — Waretown — Jacob Birdsall — Rev. James Gallager — A bell — and use for it 245

CHAPTER XII.

Rev. John Murray — Drs. Smith and Young — Rev. Abel Sarjent — Free Universal Magazine — Unitarian Universalism in 1793 — Rev. Edw. Mitchell — William Palmer — Duane St. Church — Rev. John Foster — Thurlow Weed — Dr. Francis — Henry Fitz — Gospel Herald — Prince St. Church — Rev. N. Dodge — Rev. Abner Kneeland — Rev. Adin Ballou — Herald, new series — Grand St. Church — An Association — Rev. B. Bates — Rev. T. Fiske — Corinthian Hall — Rev. Thomas J. Sawyer — Philo Price — Rev. S. J. Hillyer — Rev. A. C. Thomas — Orchard St. Church . . 256

CHAPTER XIII.

Third Universalist Society — Rev. C. F. Le Fevre — Rev. Menzies Rayner — Rev. William S. Balch — Rev. M. Ballou — Rev. D. K. Lee — Rev. E. C. Sweetzer — Rev. Dr. Brownlee — Rev. J. J. Slocum — Sunday Schools — Duane St. Church — Penalty of Sin — Rev. S. H. Remington — Fourth Society — Rev. William Whittaker — Renunciation — Rev. I. D. Williamson — Rev. M. Ballou — Rev. E. H. Chapin — N. Y. Evangelist — Hatfield's Universalism — Parker's Lectures — Rev. O. A. Skinner — Rev. C. H. Fay — Fifth Society — Rev. Z. Baker — Tests — Rev. H. R. Nye — Rev. T. J. Sawyer — Sixth Society — Rev. E. G. Brooks. . . . . Page 288

CHAPTER XIV.

Rev. T. J. Sawyer in his old Parish — Busy Term — Discussions with Rev. Isaac Westcott — Rev. A. H. Robinson — Orchard St. Church abandoned — Rev. Dr. Thompson on Love and Penalty — Not a new Argument — Answered in one Query — Drs. Sawyer and Williamson on Convergent lines — A Joyful Meeting — Rev. G. T. Flanders — Rev. G. L. Demarest — A Prophecy — Mission School — Harlem Society — Brooklyn Tabernacle — Church of the Restoration — Church of the Redeemer — Church of Our Father — Williamsburg — Green Point — Centenary School — Memoranda — Sketches — Periodicals . . . 319

APPENDIX.

First Meeting of Murray and Winchester — Winchester and Priestly — Jones and Winchester — Concerning Abel Sarjent — Contribution to Biography — Queries in Baltimore — Stir in Hanover, Pa. — James Callingham 342

SKETCHES OF HISTORY.

A

CENTURY OF UNIVERSALISM.

CHAPTER I.

George de Benneville — John Murray — Wonderful Story — Thomas Potter — Bachelor Hall — Anthony Benezet — Rev. Jacob Duché — Anthony Cuthbert — Elhanan Winchester — Baptist Church — Seed of the Woman — Ejectment of Winchester — Outcasts Comforted — Hall of the University — Universal Baptists — Winchester and Murray — Free Mason's Lodge — Convention of 1790 — Ezekiel's Two Sticks — Articles of Faith — Memoranda — Abstract of Minutes — Winchester Confession — Death of Mrs. Murray.

GEORGE DE BENNEVILLE the elder, son of a French Protestant fugitive, was born in London in 1703. He began preaching in France, — joined Count de Marsey and other preachers in Germany, — and was converted to Universalism by extraordinary visions. In 1741, fleeing from persecution, he came to America, resided for some time in Oley, Berks County, Pa., intermarried with the Bertolet family of that region, and afterwards established himself as a physician near Germantown, where he died in 1793, aged ninety, leaving the memory of a life of beautiful devotion and love.

Holding the restitution of all things as the

joy of faith, he proclaimed it freely, chiefly in German, as well within as beyond the county limits; and as we know of none earlier, we may assume that *his* was the earliest proclamation of Universalism in Philadelphia.

Doubtless the spirit of the doctrine had been cherished and exhibited by many in the pulpit, in the pew, in the world outside of the churches — many, perhaps, granting hospitality to the strange thought, discovered that they had entertained an angel unawares; and a few, without doubt, had given utterance to the sentiment, some of them as a heart-revelation, others as at least a pleasing dream. But de Benneville, in the loftiest sense of the term a visionary, rose into the certainty of a restoration by the sounding of enrapturing words, and found a divine translation of the written prophecy in Paul Siegvolk's *Everlasting Gospel.*

In the year in which de Benneville landed in Philadelphia, John Murray was born in London; and when the latter had attained the ministerial age of thirty, he stood within the circle consecrated long before. It would seem, however, that he heard nothing of the former, though distant only a few miles from his residence, for the reason, I suppose, that de Benneville had opened his testimony, almost exclusively, in the rural districts. It is nevertheless a singular fact that Murray had no knowledge of this devout man, and that his history, narrated to Winchester in

1782 and first published in London in 1792, was lost to the Universalist denomination until July 4, 1829. Its recovery was announced in the *Gospel Herald* of that date.

Murray's first appearance in Philadelphia was by invitation — of whom, does not appear. He had been only a few months in America, and had preached only in the villages along the coast of New Jersey, and in New York city on two several visits, in the close of 1770 and early in 1771. Had he been invited to Philadelphia, by letter or otherwise, on information from Good Luck or from New York, respecting the eloquence of the stranger? There is nought, on the face of the narrative, to indicate that Universalism had anything to do with the facts.

The Baptist minister who invited him to both home and pulpit, and then rudely rescinded the invitation, may have been touched by Murray's keen argument (and perhaps offensive manner) in a private interview, and therefore used his influence to close all pulpits in the city (containing probably 12,000 inhabitants) against him, but there is no intimation of Universalism. To which must be added that the people who assembled in Bachelor Hall seem to have been as ignorant after Murray's preaching as before, of any distinguishing heresy in his pulpit ministrations. — Certainly the day arrived (how long afterwards we know not) when open Universalism became the element of his power.

REV. JOHN MURRAY.

This pioneer-preacher, born in England in 1741, was in early life a Methodist, at first in close sympathy with John Wesley, and afterwards in the connexion of George Whitefield. A few years later he became a convert to Universalism as proclaimed by James Relly.* Still later, but while he was yet a young man, domestic bereavement wearied him of society, and he sailed from England for America, in the brig Hand-in-Hand, bound for New York, purposing to hide himself in the wilderness.

Misinformation induced the Captain to sail up the Delaware. When this error was corrected, other misinformation and a dense fog and a high tide passed the vessel through the breakers into Cranberry Inlet on the coast of New Jersey, a few miles north of Barnegat. Lighting the brig by transfer of a part of the cargo to a sloop, the Captain went to sea in the former, leaving the latter in charge of his passenger, with instructions to follow. Sudden shifting of the wind prevented. Seeking provision for the crew, John Murray made the acquaintance of Thomas Potter, near Good Luck, Sept. 28, 1770.

This religious man had erected a meeting-

* Relly's Common Place Book, consisting of Sketches of Sermons, was presented to me in April, 1853, by an ancient Universalist, then eighty-two, residing in Putney, London. He had received it of Relly's daughter. The earliest of the Sketches is dated Oct. 14, 1764 — the latest, March 31, 1771.

house and made preachers of every denomination welcome to the use of it; but was not satisfied with the message of any of them:

"My neighbors assured me that I never should see a preacher whose sentiments corresponded with my own. The moment I beheld your vessel on shore, it seemed as if a voice had audibly sounded in my ears, 'There, Potter, in that vessel, cast away on that shore, is the preacher you have been so long expecting.' I heard the voice, and I believed the report; and when you came up to my door, the same voice seemed to repeat, 'This is the man whom I have sent to preach in your house.'"

To which Murray replied, "The moment the wind changes, I am under the most solemn obligations to depart."

As with the utterance of a prophet came the positive declaration, "The wind will never change, sir, until you have delivered to us, in that house, a message from God."

—I know of no passage of the Scriptures, with change only in names, more impressively descriptive of the spirit and patience of this servant of the Lord than Luke ii. 25, 26:

"Behold, there was a man on the coast of New Jersey, whose name was Thomas Potter; and the same man was just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel, and the Holy Ghost was upon him. And it was revealed unto him by the Holy Ghost that he should not see death before he had seen the Lord's Christ."

—The wind did *not* change, until Murray, as a representative of the Lord's Christ, had preached in that meeting-house, on Sunday, Sept. 30, 1770.

— Further citation or commentary is not needed, until we find the following: "An invitation from Philadelphia being frequently and earnestly repeated, I repaired to this city" — this being, I judge, in the early part of 1771. "The Baptist minister invited me to his house and his pulpit." It seems, however, that the preaching as well as the social arrangement was promptly cancelled:

"The combined efforts of the clergy in Philadelphia barred against me the door of every house of public worship in the city. . . There was at this time a small company who assembled at a place known by the name of Bachelor Hall, in Kensington. They were unacquainted with the truth I delivered; yet, willing to hear for themselves, they invited me to preach for them. . . The people attended, and a few were enabled to believe the good word of their God."

This hall was a sort of Club House, a place for late suppers and balls. It was situated in Kensington, on the main river street — a square building of considerable beauty, with a fine open view to the scene on the Delaware. I gather this from Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, Vol. i. 432 — in which we are told that the Hall "was once lent to the use of Murray, the Universalist preacher, keeping then the doctrine cannon-shot distance from the city."

In that day there was a large open space between the built-up portions of the District of Kensington and Philadelphia City proper, the former being at that time little more than an

insignificant suburb. Bachelor Hall passed into ownership of one of the Norris family, and was destroyed by fire.

— In 1772 a pamphlet of nineteen pages was issued, entitled "Specimens of Apostolic Preaching," bearing the imprint of Isaac Collins, Burlington, N. J., yet belonging, as we may say, to Philadelphia. This was done on the responsibility of Murray, who says, "I had been necessitated to part with my horse, for the purpose of defraying the expenses attendant upon reprinting specimens of apostolic preaching, selected from the writings of Mr. Relly."

— "In the commencement of the autumn of 1772," he visited New London, Norwich, Newport — up to which time, his days were appropriated to Good Luck, to different parts of the Jerseys, Philadelphia, New York, and many of the intervening towns and cities. — "I think it was in the January of 1773 that a most importunate solicitation drew me to Philadelphia, and having frequently visited that city, I had many opportunities with strangers collected there."

In what place or places he preached in Philadelphia, and who were his sympathizers, does not appear. He however mentions Thomas Say, Anthony Benezet, Christopher Marshall, and others, in a way to indicate that they were personally his friends and in unity with him in religious faith. — That Thomas Say and Christopher Marshall were avowed Universalists,

admits of no doubt. Of the other name we have only a few words to say.

Anthony Benezet was of French Protestant lineage. While in London (where he was born in 1713,) his parents embraced the profession of the Quakers, and came to Philadelphia in 1731. — There is no direct evidence that this eminent man, devoted to every good work throughout his life, was a Universalist in faith; yet a few facts pronounce it probable.

When he was twenty-six years of age, (1739) he taught school in Germantown, and was also a proof-reader for a printer near whom he lived — continuing in this position till 1742. That printer, without doubt, was Christopher Sower, an open, worthy, intelligent Universalist. It was this good man who found de Benneville sick and friendless on shipboard, and took him to his own house. This was in 1741. Can it be that Benezet, with his beautiful spirit, could be a twelvemonth with two such men as Sower and de Benneville, both of them overflowing with Universalism, and not be himself a Universalist? I do not doubt that it was his Universalism, made a practical thing in all his history, which justified what was said of him, that his character, at once acute and benevolent, is revealed in his remarkable saying, that "it is the highest act of charity to bear with the unreasonableness of mankind."

His funeral (1784) was the largest known in Philadelphia in that day. An army officer, returning from this great gathering, declared that he would rather be Anthony Benezet in the coffin than George Washington in all his glory.

— Mr. Murray also includes "Mr. Duché, minister of the established church in Philadelphia," among the number "who, if they were not fully with me in sentiment, have uniformly discharged toward me the duty of Christian friends." As being a tory, I have no particular desire to claim Parson Duché as a Universalist, but I do heartily pardon his toryism on the score of his courtesy to John Murray.

In an obituary notice of my early friend, Anthony Cuthbert, who died Nov. 14, 1832, I mentioned the following facts: Parson Duché was intimate with Mr. Cuthbert's father and often visited him. They held frequent conferences in a private room, and it was a considerable time before Anthony could ascertain the object they had in view. He, at length, in the absence of his father, entered the apartment to which they so frequently retired, and found on the table a copy of Paul Siegvolk's *Everlasting Gospel.* The first American edition of this book, translated by John S., was printed in Germantown in 1753, by Christopher Sower. Mr. Cuthbert subsequently learned from his father that Mr. Duché and himself entertained no doubt of the truth of the doctrine maintained by Siegvolk, but they thought the time had not yet arrived for the public proclamation of the sentiment. I am happy to say that the son thought differently.

Mr. Duché was the author of two volumes of sermons, published in England in 1779. Mostly

they run in the channel of orthodox theology. In one of the series he is "far from asserting that all men will be saved," but does not say that he is far from *believing* it; and in another of the series he speaks of that "all-conquering meekness which must finally extinguish all that is evil in the whole system of things, and leave not one single enemy to God and goodness unsubdued" — which seems to be very wholesome Universalism. He died in Jan., 1798.

— In pursuing his narrative, Mr. Murray states that he passed the spring and the early part of the summer of 1774 in Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, and New York, with persons who had drunk into the same spirit with himself.

— In 1776 Isaac Collins of Burlington issued an edition of Relly's Hymn Book, — Thomas Potter's name being in the appended list of subscribers for six copies.

In 1784 Murray and Winchester met, for the first time, in Philadelphia, and Murray was in this city again in May, 1790, in attendance upon the Convention. From the beginning of his ministerial career he had frequently been a welcome visitor. He was a man of singularly attractive powers in the pulpit and in social life, — but he organized no society and erected no meeting-house; and the permanent establishment of Universalism in Philadelphia must be traced to the conversion and friends of

Rev. Elhanan Winchester.

I do not purpose a biography of this remarkable man: He is however so linked with the history of Universalism in Philadelphia, that I must give some account of his life.

He was born in Brookline, Mass., in 1751, and commenced preaching at an early age. In a few years he became connected with the Baptists, and found a location in the South. Visiting New England in September, 1779, he paused in Philadelphia, October 7, 1780, on his intended return to his Southern parishes; and the First Baptist church in that city, being destitute of a pastor, was anxious to secure his services.

He accepted an invitation, and crowds were attracted by his eloquence. The house was insufficient to contain them. The use of St. Paul's, the largest church building in Philadelphia, was opened for their accommodation, and here he preached "about eighteen sermons."

Two years previously to this settlement, Paul Siegvolk's *Everlasting Gospel* fell in his way. Subsequently he obtained access to Sir George Stonehouse's treatise on Universal Restitution — and these works, having the endorsement of both prayer and conscience, finally brought him into assurance of the Restoration of All Souls.

For some time he held the thought in silence, but intimations of his inward conviction brought him under the accusation of heresy. It is acknowledged by Rev. H. G. Jones, the Baptist

historian, that in the first trial of strength between the parties, the majority was two to one in Winchester's favor, and he commends the justice and magnanimity of the majority in proposing a compromise when they had the whole property in their power. By politic movements, the minority obtained possession (which is said to be nine points of the law,) and in the issue the Universalists were divested of any legal claim. "By force," says Winchester, "they kept us out of the house. . . . I believe near an hundred of the members suffered themselves to be excommunicated" rather than take sides against him.

"The whole affair was open, and I found myself obliged to vindicate the doctrine which the majority condemned unheard. . . . Accordingly on the 22d of April, 1781, I preached a sermon on Gen. iii. 15 [the Seed of the Woman bruising the Serpent's Head,] in which I openly asserted the doctrine of the Final Restoration of all fallen intelligences. This was published by particular desire."

The excitement in the Baptist Church seems to have culminated in March:

"When we were deprived of our house of worship" — such is Winchester's record — "the Trustees of the University gave us the liberty of their Hall, where we quietly worshipped God for about four years, until we purchased a place for ourselves. — . . . On the fourth day of January, 1782, I preached the sermon called The Outcasts Comforted, from Isaiah lxvi. 5, to my friends who had been cast out and excommunicated for believing this glorious doctrine. This was soon after printed."

I take the foregoing from the preface to Winchester's Dialogues, edition of 1792.

The Hall of the University above mentioned was on the west side of Fourth Street south of Arch. This building (on the site now in part of the Methodist Union Church) was originally constructed with subscription moneys raised by Whitefield, as well "for the use of itinerant preachers for ever" as for his own followers. It was finished in 1744, but in debt. Dr. Franklin procured it to be purchased in 1749, to be converted into an Academy, with the condition of partitioning off and reserving to the use of itinerants a preaching hall therein for ever. In 1753 it was made the College of Philadelphia, and in 1779 the University. These advancements were made in the interest of increasing endowments. The incorporated institution was afterwards (in 1800) located on South Ninth Street — rebuilt 1830 — and will shortly find permanency (perhaps) on a portion of the City Alms House estate in West Philadelphia.

I make these extracts (chiefly from Watson's Annals) because of the fact that Winchester addressed the Outcasts in the original Hall of the University.*

* Besides the publications of Winchester in Philadelphia, already mentioned, he issued "The Gospel of Christ No Cause of Shame:" Two Discourses, 1783 — pp. 140; and "A Serious Address to Young People," May 20, 1785. The latter was delivered in the Hall of the University — so also, presumably, were the former.

It would seem that a Universalist Society had already been organized, for that sermon was inscribed "to all those of every Denomination who have been, or may be, rejected by their Brethren, for the Belief of the glorious Doctrine of the Restitution of all things. . . . and especially to the *Baptist* Church in *Philadelphia*, holding the same." The old Baptist Church did *not* hold the same.

There can scarcely be a doubt that these events were communicated to Mr. Murray, and we have evidence that a correspondence was immediately opened between him and Winchester. In these communications, all we have to deplore is the absence of dates.

In one of Murray's letters to Winchester, here alluded to—(I judge it to have been in 1782 or early in 1783)—Murray thus writes:

"I trust your endeavors to erect a convenient building for the worship of the only living and true God, will be crowned with success. . . . I am confident, were you able to build a house yourself, you would wish to keep it perpetually open. If you proceed upon the liberal principles which you contemplate, my efforts to perfect your plan shall not be wanting. I have already addressed many of my friends upon the subject."

Free Mason's Lodge.

In the early part of 1754, the Free Masons bought a lot of sixty feet in front and forty-two in depth on the south side of a narrow street running westward from Second Street north of

Walnut, and erected a plain brick building, with rooms for their own purposes, and a Hall for the accommodation of the public. It was dedicated in June, 1755. That narrow street has since been known as Lodge Alley; and to satisfy such as may be curious to know the precise location of the lot and building, I record that the deed fixed the point of beginning at eighty-nine feet six inches west from Second Street.

— In the autumn of 1785, an effort was made to raise a sufficient sum by subscription to erect a Universalist Church in Philadelphia. This effort was made by the organization of Winchester's adherents before referred to. Doubtless Murray's followers felt cordial interest in the measure, and may have lent a helping hand, but, as not being *Universal Baptists*, they were outside of the movement.

In Murray's Letters and Sketches, ii. 114, I find the following:

"Did I tell you the Philadelphians are about erecting, by subscription, a house for public worship — the introduction to which subscription paper hath a paragraph which is thus worded: 'Which house shall be cheerfully opened upon application to a committee to be chosen out of the congregation and church, to all denominations, and especially to those who teach the universal love of God, and the final restoration of all things.' Is it not delightful to observe the declination of prejudice?"

The letter containing these lines is without

date, but the letter immediately following is dated Sept. 26, 1785. — The effort to build a Universalist Church by subscription appears to have been unsuccessful. The sum promised was inadequate, and the project was relinquished.

Nov. 24, 1785, Anthony Cuthbert, mast-maker, and Abraham Collins, sail-maker, (they were brothers-in-law,) in their own names but for the behoof of the existing organization of Universalists, bought the Mason's Lodge aforesaid for $4000, one-fourth cash and a bond and mortgage (Dec. 16, 1785) for the remainder; and Jan. 16, 1786, they united in a deed of trust in behalf of the "Society of Universal Baptists," with this preamble:

"Whereas the Society of people called Baptists, known by the name of the First Baptist Church in Philadelphia, did on or about the month of March 1781 disunite from the fellowship of said Society divers of their members who held and professed, and for so holding and professing, the doctrine of the universal love of God, and the final Restitution of all things through Jesus Christ our Lord: And whereas the members of said Society so disunited, and divers other persons holding the same doctrine, have united together and formed a religious Society called the Society of Universal Baptists," &c.

This deed of trust acknowledged that the payment of $1000 had been derived from subscriptions for a church edifice. It reserved to Cuthbert and Collins the right to dispose of the property, if necessary, to indemnify them against the bond accompanying the mortgage of $3000,

and vested the use of the premises in the Society of Universal Baptists, the trust being subject to the incumbrance referred to. I have one large sheet of parchment, a portion of the papers of conveyance, and presume that the whole document is on record. I have not been able to find it, but whether it be or be not recorded, this document establishes the preliminary facts and intention of the parties.

Free Mason's Lodge was the first piece of real estate owned by the Universalists in Philadelphia — antedating by about a month the first piece of real estate owned by the Universalists of Boston, bought by Shippie Townsend and a few others, December 29, 1785.

— Winchester and Murray met at Oxford, Mass., at an Association or Convention in Sept. 1785. Winchester spent the winter of 1785–'86 in Providence, R. I., and preached to the Society in that place. The purchase of Free Mason's Lodge was consummated in his absence by his adherents.— In the spring of 1786 he returned to Philadelphia, where he continued to preach until late in the summer of 1787, when he sailed for England, and arrived in London, Sept. 21.— In 1788 he published his celebrated Dialogues on Universal Restoration, and many other books. — He returned to America in 1794 — ministered in Philadelphia during the autumn and winter of 1795–'96 as his health would permit. Thence he removed to Hartford in the autumn of 1796,

—where, April 18, 1797, his eminently busy and useful career was ended in the forty-seventh year of his age.

PHILADELPHIA UNIVERSALIST CONVENTION. 1790 to 1807.*

Called together by a preliminary conference of 1789, the followers of Winchester and the followers of Murray met in Philadelphia, in Mason's Lodge, May 25, 1790. Ministers present: John Murray, Nicholas Cox, Artis Seagrave, William Worth, David Evans, Moses Winchester, Duncan McClain. The convocation adopted the following Articles of Faith:

1. We believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to contain a revelation of the perfections and will of God, and the rule of faith and practice.

2. We believe in one God, infinite in all his perfections, and that these perfections are all modifications of infinite, adorable, incomprehensible and unchangeable love.

3. We believe that there is one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the godhead bodily; who, by giving himself a ransom for all, hath redeemed them to God by his blood; and who, by the merit of his death, and the efficacy of his spirit, will finally restore the whole human race to happiness.

4. We believe in the Holy Ghost, whose office it is to make known to sinners the truth of their salvation, through the medium of the Holy Scriptures, and to re-

* For a free abstract of the manuscript minutes, see Universalist Union of Sept. 15, 1838. I am sorry to say that the original book of records is lost.

concile the hearts of the children of men to God, and thereby to dispose them to genuine holiness.

5. We believe in the obligation of the moral law, as the rule of life, and we hold that the love of God, manifested to man in a Redeemer, is the best means of producing obedience to that law, and promoting a holy, active and useful life.

A Plan of Church Government was adopted — one item of which annulled the stringency of water baptism and referred all ceremonials to the individual conscience, (manifestly a concession of Winchester's friends.) There was also a series of Recommendations, respecting War, Going to Law, holding Slaves, &c.

Session of 1791. Ministers: William Worth, Artis Seagrave, David Evans, Moses Winchester, Nicholas Cox, William Hawkins.— 1792: William Worth, David Evans, Nicholas Cox, Artis Seagrave, William McIntyre, Abel Sarjent, Moses Winchester. A Hymn Book, prepared by a committee, was directed to be printed.— 1793: David Evans, William Worth, William McIntyre, Joseph Ayres, Artis Seagrave, Nicholas Cox, Abel Sarjent.— 1794: N. Cox, D. Evans, W. Worth, A. Seagrave. Information was received that a Convention of Universalists had been organized by several Societies in the south-western counties of Pennsylvania and the adjacent counties in Virginia. First meeting held at Morgantown in 1793.— Session of 1795: Only minister present, David Evans.— 1796: Artis Seagrave, David Evans, Thomas Jones.— 1797: Nicholas Cox, David Evans, Thomas Jones.— 1798: Nicholas Cox, Thomas Jones.— 1799: No minutes.— 1800: No Convention held this year.— 1801: Artis Seagrave, Thomas Jones.— 1802: David Evans, Nicholas Cox, Thomas Jones.— 1803: John Murray, William Worth, John McIntyre, Thomas Jones, David

Evans.— 1804: Leaf torn out.— 1805: Nicholas Cox, David Evans, Timothy Banger.— 1806: David Evans, Nicholas Cox, Artis Seagrave.— 1807: Artis Seagrave, David Evans, Noah Murray, Timothy Banger, John Rutter.— No further records.

In all, sixteen Ministers: John Murray, Nicholas Cox, William Worth, Artis Seagrave, David Evans, Moses Winchester, Abel Sarjent, Timothy Banger, Thomas Jones, Noah Murray, John Rutter, Duncan McLain, William Hawkins, John McIntyre, William McIntyre, Joseph Ayres.

MEMORANDA AND COMMENTARY.

At the date of the purchase of Mason's Lodge, the Universalists of Philadelphia were chiefly of the Baptist order. Gradually there was a drawing together of the two branches of the Universalist Family, and, like the two sticks in the vision of Ezekiel, they became one in the Convention of 1790. At this time the Society of Universal Baptists had been disbanded, and a new Society was organized in July of that year, Murrayites and Winchesterians becoming members. It had the foregoing articles of faith as its basis, and was called "The First Independent Church of Christ, commonly called Universalists." As yet they worshipped in Mason's Lodge.

—In a letter to her parents, written by Mrs. Murray from Philadelphia, June 19, 1790, she speaks of the position of Universalism in that city, and adds: "The church belonging to the Universalists in this metropolis, not being spacious enough to contain the numbers who flock

to hear" Mr. Murray, his friends obtained the use of College or University Hall, — the same in which Winchester and the Outcasts worshipped for about four years. "In the course of the week large and respectable congregations are collected there," in the evenings, I suppose. "On Sunday, Mr. Murray is at the Lodge, the church of the Universalists."

— The foregoing Articles of Faith, together with the Recommendations, were printed in the *Albany Register* of July 5, 1790, and thence copied into the *Trumpet* about 1833. See an article by Rev. Thomas B. Thayer in the *Union* of March 20, 1847 — with high encomium, especially of the Recommendations.

— September 3, 1794, at Oxford, Mass., Elhanan Winchester being Moderator, the General Convention of Universalists of the New England States and others, recorded this minute: "Adopted the Philadelphia Platform of Articles of Faith and form of Church government, and recommend that the same be observed by the Churches and Societies forming this Convention."

— At the session of that body, Strafford, Vermont, 1802, a "Committee was appointed to form a plan of fellowship in faith and practice for the edifying of the body, and building it up together."

— At the session held in Winchester, N. H., in 1803, the Committee reported, and the report was adopted by an unanimous vote, the Articles

of Religion generally known as the Winchester Confession or Profession of Faith, being the Platform upon which the General Convention of Universalists is established. As follows:

I. We believe that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments contain a revelation of the character of God, and of the duty, interest and final destiny of mankind.

II. We believe that there is one God, whose nature is Love, revealed in one Lord Jesus Christ, by one Holy Spirit of Grace, who will finally restore the whole world of mankind to holiness and happiness.

III. We believe that holiness and true happiness are inseparably connected, and that believers ought to be careful to maintain order and practice good works — for these things are good and profitable unto men.

— September, 1834, the Convention of the New England States and others, became the General Convention, all-embracing.

— The Life of Murray, written by himself, reached only to the close of 1774. It was continued to the end, September 3, 1815, by Mrs. Murray. She died at Oak Point, near Natchez, in the sixty-ninth year of her age, July 6, 1820 — at the residence, it would seem, of her brother, "the late Governor Sargeant, of that place."

In the closing paragraph of the Life of Murray, Mrs. Murray mentions a son, who died early, and "a daughter, who still survives, the prop and consolation of her widowed mother." I remember having been told, forty years ago, that the daughter accompanied the mother to the South.

CHAPTER II.

Stir among the Baptists — Lamentation of Benedict and Rev. H. G. Jones — Sketch of Rev. Nicholas Cox — William Worth and his Appeal — Artis Seagrave and Hymns — David Evans and his Pamphlets — Abel Sarjent, Editor of Free Universal Magazine — Moses Winchester — Timothy Banger — Noah Murray — Thomas Jones — John Rutter.

BENEDICT'S General History of the Baptist Denomination, i. 275, contains a record of events between 1780 and 1790:

"During this period a number of ministers, and with them a considerable number of brethren, fell in with Elhanan Winchester's notion of Universal Restoration. The rage for this doctrine prevailed for a time to a considerable extent. . . . Mr. Winchester was for awhile a very popular preacher among the Baptists. He was indeed in some respects, and particularly in memory, a prodigy of nature, and his talents and address were such that he was sure to command followers and applause of some kind or other wheresoever he went, and wherever he preached."

I omit many degrading insinuations. It would seem indeed that the writer regarded Universalism as both an unpardonable sin against God and a justification of disparagement and falsehood among men. — I make the following extract from the History of the Philadelphia Baptist Association, by Rev. H. G. Jones, published in *The World* of 1832–'33:

"The year 1790 presents no joyful aspect. Clouds and storms, tornadoes and volcanic eruptions, echoed and re-echoed from Dan to Beersheba. The doctrine of 'a general provision,' like an unexpected pestilence, or as the insidious, fatal Samoul of Africa, came among some of the churches. Whether it was indigenous or exotic, the archives of the day do not inform us. This we know: It led on to Universalism, a depôt to which it as naturally tends as a weight in motion on an inclined plane rushes on to the lowest point of destination. Cape May and Pittsgrove churches were so nearly ruined by 'a general atonement,' which ended in Universalism, that scarcely anything could be seen in their borders but their tears, and scarcely anything could be heard but their sighs and groans. And to add to the calamity, Nicholas Cox, a preacher at Kingwood, now grown wiser than his fathers, mounted on the fractious steed of 'general provision,' and rode furiously on to the barren, hopeless, desolate plains of Universalism."

There is much more in the same strain. It is not my purpose to review this out-flowing of ignorance and devout spleen, but shall pass at once to the narration of all I have learned respecting the clergymen who, from first to last, attended the Philadelphia Convention.

Rev. Nicholas Cox was born in Philadelphia in 1742, but of what lineage we know not. He became a Baptist in New Jersey, where he ministered to good acceptance with several Societies for a number of years. Kingwood, Wantage, and other places in Warren and Sussex counties, have been mentioned as the scenes of his residence and labors; but of one thing we may in-

ferentially be sure: He was highly regarded among the Baptists as one of their best and most talented men, else the author of the foregoing tirade and lamentation would not have so deeply mourned his conversion to Universalism. At the sacrifice of ease and of social consideration, he openly avowed the sublime conviction of head and heart, and continued steadfast and rejoicing to the end.

He spent the larger part of his life, as a preacher, in the counties above-mentioned, and his name, it may be seen, frequently occurs in the minutes of the Philadelphia Convention. He was at the first session in 1790, and at nine sessions besides, of the series. Although he received invitations to settle, he never became a pastor among the Universalists, but preached as a self-appointed missionary — rather, I should say, a divinely-ordained Evangelist.

In 1808, while in Maryland, he received a challenge from a Presbyterian clergyman to hold a public discussion. Such was the defeat of the opponent of Universalism that the audience begged him to quit the field and not venture another challenge.

— He spent the summers of 1809 and 1810 in Virginia, where he defined a circuit for himself and zealously published the good tidings of a world redeemed. It is the uniform testimony of tradition that he was a close reasoner, a good neighbor, and an honest man. He continued to

preach till within three or four years of his death, which occurred in Mansfield, Warren Co., N. J., March 20, 1826, aged eighty-four.

So general was the expectation that he would relinquish his faith in the dying hour, that even his son was anxious in regard to the result. He therefore took upon himself to attend personally upon his father, during the last illness of the old Universalist. There was much conversation between them, but not a doubt was exhibited by the dying saint; and to the frequent inquiries of his son, he uniformly answered in the fulness of heavenly trust.*

Rev. William Worth was Moderator of the Convention of 1790. In the History of New Jersey, I find that "a Baptist Church was founded in Pittsgrove about 1743." The historian, after naming several pastors, adds this:

"Rev. William Worth then took the charge, and the congregation increased considerably under his ministration, until he became deeply engaged in land speculations in the back country; and the opinion becoming current that he had become tinctured with Universalism, the congregation dwindled away almost to nothing."

There is no imputation of wrong in the business transactions referred to, and I suspect that the falling away of the congregation was rather due to the hostility of the Church dignitaries in

*Rev. S. J. H. in Messenger of March 16, 1833, and Rev. J. G. in Ambassador of April 29, 1848.

Philadelphia, than to the intelligent free-will of the people in Pittsgrove — a view which appears to be confirmed by a pamphlet the title of which is in the margin.* The first paragraph is as follows:

"There lately appeared, in the minutes of the Baptist Association, an advertisement, cautioning the churches of that denomination to beware of me, as also of the Rev. Mr. Seagrave. Their words are: 'As we had reason to fear at the last Association, that Mr. Worth of Pittsgrove was far gone in the doctrine of universal salvation, we are well certified, by undoubted authority, that he is now fully in that belief. We, therefore, to show our abhorrence of that doctrine, and of his disingenuous conduct for a long time past, caution our churches to beware of him, and of Artis Seagrave, of the same place, also, who has espoused the same doctrine.'"

From the clear and candid review by Mr. Worth, I make the following extracts:

"If my brethren in the ministry had reason to fear that I was imbibing wrong notions a year ago, as they say they had, in the above-recited minute, why did they not endeavor to reclaim me? Why did they not at least endeavor to point out to me the evil of my sentiments, and wherein they were inconsistent with the word of God? This, however, they have never attempted. Paul exhorted Titus, 'after the first and second admonition to reject a heretic,' but I am rejected without any. In a civil court, no man can be condemned without a fair

*"Mr. Worth's Appeal to the Public, in answer to a late publication against him by the Baptist Association at Philadelphia, wherein his sentiments, as believing the Universal Love of God in the Restoration of All the Human Race, are briefly stated." Imprint, Philadelphia, 1790.

trial, and being heard in his own defence. My brethren however did not allow me that liberty, but condemned me without a trial, or even so much as giving me notice of it."

Dr. Jones, it seems, had sent a letter to the church in Pittsgrove, by request of the Association, in which he said some hard things no less of Mr. Worth than of Universalism, warning the people to be on their guard. "As your number is already small, it will be a pity there should be a division as there was in Philadelphia," referring, without doubt, to the schism under Elhanan Winchester in 1781.

"The doctor then insinuates that I had acted under covert and disingenuously," which is answered as follows:

"This charge is both ungenerous and false, and where I am known can do me no harm. Their only support of the charge, is, that if these were my sentiments why did not I confess it? To which I reply, 1st. It is impossible for any honest man to confess sentiments before he believes them. 2d. It would be foolish in any man to do it before he had examined them in all their parts, so as to be able to defend them, and especially in a public character. 3d. As their sentiments were no bar of fellowship with me, I was unwilling to give them any offence with mine. 4th. He that has the oversight of Christ's flock ought to have judgment to feed them and rightly to divide the word of truth among them. Paul tells the Corinthians that 'hitherto he has fed them with milk and not with strong meat, for as yet they were not able to bear it;' and he complains of the Hebrews that 'it was time for them to be teachers of others, and yet needed to be taught the first principles of religion, and

had become such as needed milk and not strong meat. Lastly, it is a fact. I never did deny it, but always referred those who asked me the question, to my public preaching, declaring, as I now do, in the presence of my Judge, that I did preach my sentiments without disguise, and that, if what I preached was universal doctrine, it was my sentiments."

Very gladly would I transcribe every paragraph of this admirable pamphlet for republication, but will close with the following comprehensive note:

"From our several authors who have professedly wrote on the subject, (which Dr. Jones had frequent opportunities of reading) it doth evidently appear that we verily believe That Jesus is the way, the truth and the life, and that there is no coming to the Father but in and through him: That a real belief of this most precious truth is essential to our happiness, for though we are ever safe in the truth, yet we never can be truly happy until we are brought in reality to believe it: That our safety in the truth is an infallible security that we shall be brought to a happiness in believing: That the belief of this truth doth necessarily inspire all the subjects of it to love the brotherhood, to fear God, and to honor the king or civil government. How could the doctor, then, lay his hand on his heart, and say that this doctrine, which we believe and joyfully preach for the good of mankind, is licentious and subversive of all government, human and divine?"

There is so much sweetness, dignity and solidity in all this, and in all that follows in this pamphlet of thirty pages, that I reluctantly refrain from further extracts, and am only sorry that I have not been able to gather farther information concerning the author.

Rev. Artis Seagrave, as I find in Johnson's History of Salem, "took oversight of the Baptist Church in Cape May in 1785, and resigned in 1788." — He appears to have removed to Pittsgrove, for the Philadelphia Baptist Association linked him with Rev. William Worth in the condemnation of their Circular Letter, and the latter replied for both.

Lower down than the places last-named, was a neighborhood or village known as Shiloh, in Cumberland County — concerning which we learn that there was a "Seventh-Day Baptist Church, which arose about 1737.... About the year 1790 a schism took place among them, one part of the Society holding the doctrine as promulgated by Winchester (which was that of Universalism), the other part retaining the creed of their forefathers." * The Free Universal Magazine ('93) mentions Pittsgrove, Shiloh and Cape May in lower New Jersey, as having "Universal Churches," and it is a reasonable supposition that Worth, Seagrave, Moses Winchester and Ayres ministered to them, at least occasionally — for these clergymen were certainly resident in that direction from Philadelphia.

Artis Seagrave was frequently present at the sessions of the Philadelphia Universalist Convention, and doubtless had both a devout and a poetical spirit. Twenty-one of the hymns in the hymn-book before mentioned were from his

* Historical Collections of New Jersey, 147.

pen, and I have thought that we might profitably honor his memory, at the gatherings of our ecclesiastical bodies, by singing these outpourings of his soul:

AT THE GATHERING.

Now we are met from different parts,
May heavenly love inspire our hearts:
May all we do be done in love,
Like those who meet to praise above.

May this a striking emblem be
Of that great meeting all shall see,
Where heavenly love tunes every chord
In glad hosannas to the Lord.

Be with us, Jesus, while we stay,
And guide us when we praise or pray:
In all we do, may we proclaim
The praise and glory of thy name.

PARTING OF THE CONVENTION.

Dear Lord, we now must part—
A parting blessing give:
With thy rich love fill every heart,
That we in love may live.

And though we 're far away,
May we united be,
And for each other ever pray
That we may live in thee.

All glory to the Lamb,
May we for ever sing,
And bid farewell, while we proclaim
Hosannas to our King.

Rev. David Evans resided in New Britain, Bucks County, Pa., where he died, May 24, 1824, in the 86th year of his age. He was present at nearly every session of the Philadelphia Convention from 1790 inclusive, and was undoubtedly the great logical head of the fraternity of that day. I learned from those who knew him well, that he was less gifted as a public speaker than as a writer — that he was a man of unbending integrity, as acknowledged on every hand in the region of his home — one who honored Universalism in life and in death, as his supreme, all-comprehensive thought.

There was a Universalist Church (or Society) in New Britain, but the Meeting House mentioned on the title-page of one of the pamphlets, was simply a large school-house on the margin of his farm — a structure long since demolished.

I have ascertained that at the date of his decease "there was a barrel full of his pamphlets and manuscripts in the house," but his heirs "cared for none of these things," and they were scattered or destroyed. The following are the titles of all his printed productions which I have succeeded in accumulating:

General Election; or, Salvation for All Men illustrated and proved. A Sermon preached at the Meeting of the United Brethren in New Britain in Pennsylvania, Nov., 1785. By David Evans. 12mo., pp. 27.

On the second page of this sermon there is a marginal note: "For a full explanation of the

union between us and Christ, read that excellent treatise on the subject, entitled Union, written by James Relly." Five years later, there is this marginal note in William Worth's Appeal: "For a more particular discussion of this subject, I refer my reader to Mr. Evans' Sermon, entitled *General Election.*" Whether the light came from the lamp of Relly or of Winchester, it certainly shone to the perfect day, in respect of the final interpretation of the divine government, as held by these ancient worthies.

A Letter to the Rev. Doctor Jones, containing some Remarks on the Circular Letter of the Philadelphia Baptist Association, 1791 — wrote by himself. By David Evans. 12mo., 12 pages. April 7, 1791.

The argument flows constantly in Relly's theory as the current of his thoughts, and need not here be repeated. I have frequently thought how much stronger this strong man would have been, could he have broken the trammels of a vicarious atonement. Witness the logic in the following commentary.

Perpetuity of Spiritual Baptism and the Abolition of Water Baptism illustrated. A Sermon preached in the Universal Church in New Britain, November 28, 1802. To which are added Brief Remarks on Robert Annan's Animadversions on Universal Salvation. By David Evans. 12mo., 33 pages.

The Water Baptism part of this pamphlet is so full of marrow and fatness, and so closely connected in all its sections, that I fear I should do

injustice to the author by any description or citation. The argument even overflows into the marginal notes. Commenting on Matt. xxviii. 19, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost," he makes his fifth point after this fashion:

"If the text meant water baptism, it would be the duty of all the apostles to be diligent in administering it as occasion required, and it would be contradictory in any of them to thank God that he was sparing in doing his duty; but Paul without contradiction thanks God that he baptized only a few — therefore it was not his duty; and if it was not his duty, then the text doth not mean water baptism, 1 Cor. i. 14."

Then this marginal note:

"Should any say Paul might rejoice that he was sparing in administering water baptism (although it was his duty) lest any one should falsely say that he baptized in his own name: With the same propriety they may say he ought to be sparing in preaching the gospel, because some did falsely affirm that he preached, Let us do evil that good may come, Rom. iii. 8. But I leave them to reconcile such confusions with the apostle's plain declaration, Woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel!"

This is a fair sample of the logic of David Evans respecting Baptism, and leads us to expect some close argument in reviewing Robert Annan. Who this opponent was I do not know, but his nerves, I fancy, must have tingled when he read the following paragraphs:

"If Limitarianism be true (which is impossible) then unbelief and a rejection of the precious gospel and its

glorious author cannot be the cause of the damnation of the miserable; for according to that system, there could be nothing for them to believe and embrace to make them heavenly and happy.

"Limitarians do, in their writings and preachments, acknowledge that the damned have been guilty of rejecting divine love. Then this love doth exist, for it is impossible that any should reject what doth not exist. Therefore their being guilty of rejecting divine love doth prove that God doth love them."

There is nothing novel in this line of argument, as all will see who are acquainted with Relly's all-prevailing thought, but it is vigorously elaborated throughout the pamphlet.

Absolute Predestination. A Sermon preached at the opening of the Universalian Convention met at Philadelphia, May 17, 1806. By David Evans, Minister of the Universalian Church, New Britain. Published at the request of the Convention. 12mo., 22 pages. Printed in Doylestown, Pa., June, 1806.

The author, though stringently a predestinarian, looks closely and devoutly for the moralities of the case:

"God's absolute sovereignty consists in his necessary conformity to his essence. Truth is an essence in God — therefore he cannot lie. Paternal love is an essence in God — therefore he cannot hate his offspring. And will any one say that we contradict the sovereignty of God by believing that he cannot lie? that he cannot hate his offspring? that he cannot in any thing act contrary to his essence?

"Nay, according to this evangelical idea, we may cheerfully submit to, yea, rejoice in the thought of divine sovereignty. But, according to the limitarian idea, no

one can be said to submit to divine sovereignty, unless he feels willing that himself should be made the subject of endless sin and torment. And if I should hear any limitarian lunatic say or swear that he felt such a willingness, I should not believe him, because such a declaration would be contrary to the indelible principle which God hath placed in every man, an irreconcilable aversion to endless torment.

"For a limitarian to feel willing that a Universalist, or a Calvinist to feel willing that an Arminian, or an Arminian a Calvinist, should be consigned to endless sin and torment, is no submission to divine sovereignty, but a submission to infernal malevolence and wrath. And this is the essence of limitarian piety."

The sum of the extended argument is thus set forth and clearly illustrated:

"Either all evil shall be totally annihilated, and its temporary existence rendered subservient to the promotion of final and universal good, or the decrees of God are not the decrees of infinite wisdom and goodness. The last is evidently false and highly blasphemous: Therefore the first must be true, for a third cannot be found."

Remarks on the Baptist Association Letter, on the subject of God's Decrees: wherein the principles of Limitarianism are examined and confuted. A Lecture delivered in the Universalian Church in Philadelphia, May 21, 1809. By David Evans. 12mo., 16 pages. Printed in Doylestown, June, 1809.

I have space for only a brief extract from this powerful production:

"Pure Christianity doth teach with infallible certainty, that all evil is by the divine decree limited in its degree and duration; that its temporary existence, through its

total annihilation, will be rendered subservient to the promotion of final and universal good."

"That God's love is infinite, is a primary truth: The derivative truth is, that it doth equally extend to all; that it cannot be greater to one than to another; that the difference can only be in the degrees of its manifestation. For what is infinite, cannot be limited in degree, extent or duration."

I must not farther indulge in quotations from the pamphlets of this strong man. I am glad that the head-ache of his logic does not close with the heart-ache of an awful creed. He had not the merit of breaking away from the sacrificial theory, but I do think that in closeness and clearness of analysis, vigor of thought and fitness of utterance, overwhelming all hindrances to the doctrine of Universalism, David Evans deserves to take rank with Hosea Ballou.

Rev. Abel Sarjent was present at the sessions of the Philadelphia Universalist Convention in 1792 and 1793. James Moore, (a layman, who was Moderator at the session of 1792,) in a letter dated May 27, 1792, addressed to the Universal Church at Pike Run, Washington County, Pennsylvania, says, "By our brother Sarjent, who is received by the Convention now met in this place as the messenger from three different churches in your parts, we are informed," &c. From which it would appear that Mr. Sarjent had been a preacher in Western Pennsylvania, whence he came to Philadelphia.

In the list of Universal Preachers known to the editor of the Free Universal Magazine, Abel Sarjent is registered in New Jersey. He probably made New Hanover his central point.

In the prospectus of the second volume of the Magazine, March, 1794, he speaks apologetically of "the various inconveniences attending an unsettled situation, together with the many important charges of the ministry in which he has been involved," &c. He also announces that subscriptions will be taken in by certain trustees, or agents, "and also by the editor at his bookstore, head of Market St., Baltimore."

Jan. 30, 1794, the church in New Hanover addressed a letter to its Minister, regretting his absence, claiming him still as its pastor, and rejoicing in tidings of his success in a new field of labor. This letter was published in the Magazine, together with a reply, March 20, 1794, at which time Mr. Sarjent was in Baltimore. That Minister, without doubt, was the editor, and this is the last we know of him.*

Rev. Moses Winchester, a younger half-brother of Elhanan, born in New England, commenced preaching in 1783 at an early age. I find it

* On the back fly-leaf of a pamphlet on Prophetic Conjectures, published in Baltimore in 1794, there are "Proposals for printing by subscription a small Treatise, entitled, The Doctrine of Universal Restoration, considered as Unscriptural. By John Stanger."

stated that he went to Philadelphia to officiate for the congregation there, in the absence of the elder brother. — I have recollection of visiting a family of his descendants (a daughter, I believe) somewhere in the region of Swedesboro', N. J., many years ago. I am under the impression that this was his home. On inquiry for old manuscripts, letters, &c., I learned that there had been a box full of them, but the mice had destroyed them.

Moses Winchester was present at the sessions of the Philadelphia Convention 1790, '91, '92, and died at the residence of his mother-in-law in Philadelphia, a few months prior to the session of '93. He was buried in a cemetery belonging to the N. J. Seventh-Day Baptists on the east side of Fifth Street, above Chestnut.

Rev. Timothy Banger, born in London in 1773, came to Philadelphia with a letter of introduction from Elhanan Winchester, dated July 26, 1793: "He has exercised his gifts for about two years past, and I am in hopes will become a useful preacher." — Mr. Banger also brought a letter from Winchester to Dr. Benjamin Rush, and so cordial were the relations of these correspondents, that the Doctor soon found an acceptable situation for the young man.

Mr. Banger's name does not appear in the minutes of the Convention until 1805. He was also present at the session of 1807 — not present

during business hours, for he must needs attend to his secular employment. — He never had a pastorate, but was eminently useful as a preacher, especially during the many unsettled eras of our cause in Philadelphia. His attendance on public worship in Lombard St. Church ceased when the Trinitarian theory was superseded by the Unitarian, namely, on the settlement of Mr. Kneeland in 1818; yet Mr. Kneeland, writing respecting him (January, 1821) pronounced "Mr. Banger a worthy and amiable brother, who has always rendered his services gratuitously, and who has supplied the desk when otherwise it would have been vacant (excepting what time it was thought best that the doors of the church should be closed) for more than twenty years." The same was true of him, to my knowledge, as late as 1839.

He died June 1, 1847, aged seventy-five years. For a long time he had been associated with Peter Keyser and James Lynd in the ministry of the Tunkers, having a house of worship in Crown St. in Philadelphia, and another in Germantown. The three lie in the same burial-ground, in the locality of the latter.

The funeral sermon of Mr. Banger was preached by Harriet Livermore. He had been very considerate of her, and as her temporary home was in the vicinity of his residence, at the date of his decease, she was invited to officiate. — This remarkable woman was the Stranger

Guest in Whittier's poem entitled Snow-Bound. I have recently learned that after a diversified experience in widely separated parts of the globe, she ended her mortal career in the medical ward of the Philadelphia Alms House, March 30, 1868, aged eighty. A melancholy ending of a troubled life.

Rev. Thomas Jones was educated in Lady Huntingdon's Connexion in England — became a Universalist in 1788, and came to Philadelphia in 1796 by intercession of John Murray. Assuming charge of the Lombard St. Church on the retirement of Elhanan Winchester, he continued in the office of pastor until 1804. John Murray was there in 1798 — and again in 1803 in attendance upon the Convention — at which time Mr. Jones was teaching a school to enlarge his small income. To facilitate his removal to New England, Mr. Murray spent part of the winter of 1803 – '04 in Philadelphia, in a sort of exchange with his poverty-stricken friend, and effected his purpose. The earthly history of Thomas Jones was ended in Gloucester, Mass., in 1846, after a loving and devout pastorate of forty-three years.

Rev. Noah Murray, born in Connecticut, commenced preaching as a Baptist, but being converted to Universalism, he promptly declared his convictions. In 1790 he removed to Tioga

Point, now Athens, in Northern Pennsylvania.—In the Free Universal Magazine there is a letter dated Sheshequin, July 3, 1793, and addressed to Nicholas Cox, V.D.M., Kingwood, N. J., in which the writer, (probably Elder Parke,) says: "I enjoy one sage counsellor, whom doubtless you have heard of, N. M." This was Rev. Noah Murray.

He several times visited New England, and by advice of the brethren accepted an invitation to Philadelphia. He was pastor of the Lombard St. Church from 1807 to 1808. He was a man of religious life and strong good sense, but of talent and manners promising little of success in an unpopular denomination, in adverse circumstances, in a great city. We know little of his history, yet enough of it to inspire us with deep respect and love for his memory.

There are two accounts of the closing scene of his life. One of these, published in the Gospel Visitant, Sept., 1811, a few months after his death, is as follows: Intruders upon his death-chamber endeavored to shake the dying saint by inquiring of him whether his faith was not weakened and forsaking him. He motioned to his son for a piece of chalk, and wrote "stronger." After a little while he wrote "*stronger.*" Then, resting a few moments, he wrote "STRONGER." *

The other account runs in precisely the same

* Confirmed to Rev. W. S. Balch by Noah Murray's son. See Christian Ambassador of April 1, 1848.

channel, and neither of them is inconsistent with the other. The tradition published in 1867, is of this tenor: When on his death-bed, with friends around him as witnesses of his departure, he was asked whether his faith continued to sustain him. With a radiant face his lips uttered the word "glory," repeating it several times; and with almost the last breath he uttered the word "*glorious.*" And thus, in the serene transport of the Christian believer, he entered into the heavenly rest.

— More than half a century rolled around, and the living continued so to honor his memory that a visible testimony was suggested. By general contribution, and chiefly by the diligence of Mrs. Eliza Gibson, the proposal was consummated, and a cemetery in Athens contains a marble monument, with this inscription:

SACRED to the memory of REV. NOAH MURRAY, the first preacher of Universalism in Bradford county, who died May 11, 1811, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

Erected as a token of grateful remembrance by the North Branch Association of Universalists, Sept., 1867.

Elder John Rutter is named in the minutes as a clergyman present at the Philadelphia Universalist Convention, session of 1807 — after which year I have no records. In my early ministry he was mentioned to me as a convert from the Baptists, a lay-preacher among *them* and among *us.* He was buried in the ground in the rear

of the Lombard St. Church, and for long years I frequently read the simple inscription upon a tomb-stone erected to his memory. In the enlargements of the vestry-room from time to time, the stone was removed from the wall to which I had fastened it, and I am sorry to say that I recently looked for it in vain. I do not know when he died. He is believed to have been an humble and otherwise exemplary brother, faithful unto death.

— The Convention probably continued in being until 1809 inclusive. The sessions were held in May, and we have seen that David Evans delivered "a lecture in the Universalian Church in Philadelphia" in that month and year. The number of ministers varied but gradually diminished, and there was no probability of enlargement. Including John Murray, I have here presented all I know respecting eleven of them. Of the other five, I have only this to say:

Rev. Joseph Ayres was a subscriber to the Free Universal Magazine, and is set down in the list as residing in Hopewell, Cumberland County, lower N. Jersey. *Rev. John McIntyre*, New Jersey. *Rev. Wm. McIntyre* and *Rev. Duncan McClain*, Virginia. *Rev. William Hawkins*, Maryland. All gone from the earth, and the names of some of them well-nigh perished — yet "They shall be mine, saith the Lord, in the day when I make up my jewels."

I avow myself drawn into peculiar sympathy with those ancient Fathers of the Church; and often, especially during my early pastorate in Philadelphia, by starlight I reverently paced the pavement in front of where once stood the Lodge-Church, and (being in the spirit) listened to the hymns and supplications of the saints and heard their sturdy and solemn footfalls in the corridors of time.

Frequently, too, during the many years of my ministry in the Lombard St. Church, (which is the Mother of us All,) I saw the Lord high and lifted up, and did not doubt that those worshippers were in the train that filled the temple. And the posts of the door moved at the sound of the cry, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts: The whole earth is full of his glory!

CHAPTER III.

Universal Baptists — Free Mason's Lodge — A New Church — Elhanan Winchester — Rev. Thomas Jones — Rev. Noah Murray — Rev. George Richards — Church of the Restitution — Sad End in 1814 — Its Effects — Ungenerous Commentary — Rev. Ebenezer Lester — Rev. David Gilson — Timothy Banger and his Labors of Love — Rev. Abner Kneeland — New Departure — Berean Society — Rev. Hosea Ballou — Great Congregation — Second Church — Rev. William Morse — Kneeland and McCalla — Rev. Stephen R. Smith — Rev. Pitt Morse — Rev. John Chambers — Rev. Z. Fuller — Rev. T. Fiske — Franklin Institute.

THE *Society of Universal Baptists*, not being incorporated, was readily dissolved or disbanded; and we have seen how its elements were merged in the new organization of July, 1790. These people, thus united, continued to meet and worship in Mason's Lodge. I doubt, however, whether any business-attention had been given to the incumbrance of mortgage, and I suspect that the principal of the debt, with accumulated interest and costs, entirely consumed the property.

In an official statement (published in 1871) of all the trust funds, for various purposes, held by the City of Philadelphia, there is the following item — thrice the sum named being little more than the bond, after nearly eight years:

"The Free Mason's Fund of $1533.57, the one-third part of the nett proceeds of the sale of Free Mason's Lodge, in Lodge Alley, was contributed to the city, July 23, 1793, by Edward Shippen, John Swift, Matthew Clarkson, Michael Hillegas, Tench Francis, John Penn and William Smith. The fund, which has since been merged into what is known as the City Fuel Fund, was for supplying the necessitous inhabitants of the city with fuel in the winter season."

It would seem, therefore, that the indebtedness aforesaid was paid off by sale of the premises, which thus passed from the control of the Universalists.

Pending the process and foreseeing the result, June 25, 1793, a subscription paper was prepared to raise money for the purchase of a lot and the erection of a meeting-house for the First Independent Church of Christ, commonly called Universalists. The original paper, now on my table, contains the names of forty-nine subscribers. Eight of these contributed Three hundred pounds, that is, thirty-seven pounds ten shillings each, ($100 Pennsylvania currency) and the remainder contributed within a fraction of one hundred pounds, in various sums — the aggregate being (say) four hundred pounds.

This list included all the leading Universalists of Philadelphia, and where any further subscriptions were to come from, is beyond my conjecture. Yet, July 30, 1793, a plot of ground, beginning at a point on the south side of Lombard Street, one hundred feet west of Fourth Street,

and described as one hundred feet front on Lombard by 78 feet in depth, was bought for the sum of five hundred pounds, ($1333.33) and deeded in trust to Thomas Francis, Israel Israel, Anthony Cuthbert, Thomas Fitzgerald, Elisha Gordon, James Moore, and John Vannest — some of whom were Winchesterians and some of them Murrayites, and all of them members of the church organized in 1790. This, at first merely a voluntary association, without any legal existence, was * incorporated on the last day of 1801, by the title (long enough in all conscience,) First Independent Church of Christ, commonly called Universalists, meeting in their house of public worship in Lombard Street, in the city of Philadelphia.

We now see (and for many years have seen) the error of location, but facts and appearances at the date of purchase vindicated the choice as a wise one. The leading men of the Society then resided in that section of the city, and it was fully believed that the growth of Philadelphia would be in that direction. Front Street from Pine Street south, and Penn Street, long since abandoned to sailor boarding-houses and the like, gave evidence of prosperity if not aristocracy of families in that day, and Lombard Street above Fourth was regarded as a promising location for a Universalist Church — especially

* Amy Scott, one of the corporators, was of African stock. She was a devout woman, much respected in the church.

as it was in the immediate neighborhood of St. Peter's, one of the chief churches of that day, and not distant from the centre of river business.

The believers began to build, 80 feet by 50, and no such thoroughly-cemented walls can be found elsewhere in these modern times. It was an era of struggle. Cuthbert and Gordon, the only two of the trustees with whom I had personal acquaintance, (also Timothy Banger) often spoke to me of the difficulties encountered and partly overcome.

How much of surplus (if any) came from the sale of Mason's Lodge I have been unable to ascertain, but what through money troubles and the yellow fever of 1793, the people must have had a sore time in preparing a temple of the Lord. They might indeed appropriate the experience of apostolic times: "We have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us. We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed: we are perplexed, but not in despair: persecuted, but not forsaken: cast down, but not destroyed," 2 Cor. iv. 7–9. When the house was first occupied for worship, the walls were without plastering and the only seats plain benches. I was told that the first pulpit was a rough platform made by a mast-maker and a shoemaker, and we may presume that the earliest preachers were on the "free list."

Elhanan Winchester was there statedly from

1794 till 1796, but Rev. Thomas Jones was the first pastor, settled as such. It must have required a soul all aglow with faith and zeal, to rise above the adverse circumstances of the times. In 1804 he resigned his pastorate, and onward for three years or more the church appears to have been without a pastor, dependent on "supplies" for an occasional public service. In the Circular Letter of the N. E. Convention of 1808, it is mentioned as a matter of congratulation that "the Philadelphians are shaking themselves from the dust. Their temporal light has come in the light of Bro. Noah Murray, and the Society is completing the meeting-house in Lombard St. at great expense." His name is in the minutes of the Philadelphia Convention, May 16, 1807, but his pastoral charge was certainly of brief duration.

REV. GEORGE RICHARDS.

In the beginning of July, 1809, Rev. George Richards removed to Philadelphia.* He was a clergyman of high standing in New England, though, from what I have heard respecting him, his popularity came rather from his florid oratory, than from any strong intellectual qualities. His talent was of the poetical, imaginative order.

* An article in *Old and New* for Feb., 1872, celebrates "the name and fame of that forgotten poet of American Freedom, and harmonious eulogist of General Washington, the Rev. George Richards," 1793–1800.

Much attention was attracted by his eloquence, and he had a distinguished following among the Free Masons, of which body he was a member in the highest degrees. I have read numerous poems of his, also addresses and lectures on Free Masonry, written chiefly in New England, doing him great credit as an interpreter of symbols and rites, and am not surprised that he was selected as editor of Free Mason's Magazine, commenced in Philadelphia in April, 1811.

Feb. 16, 1812, he delivered and published a sermon on the burning of Richmond Theatre, Dec. 26, 1811. This, so far as I have knowledge, was his only printed production in Philadelphia, in the line of sermonizing. As a fair sample of his ornate style, I present the following passage from the introduction:

— "A calamity which has overwhelmed the capital of Virginia in lamentation, in mourning and woe, and clothed almost every family in sackcloth, in ashes, and the dust of death. National sensibility roused at the cry of distress. Private sympathy woke at the shriek of sorrow. America rose up to comfort them that mourn. Assembled states breathed the language of pity. Age wafted his tremulous sigh to the grave, where mothers, daughters, fathers, sons repose. Youth impearled the tear upon the tomb, where relatives and friends, the favored bridegroom and the beauteous bride are hushed to everlasting rest. Yes! all the charities of life have wept the much-loved dead. And even religion's sainted form has mingled her balsams and her balms, and poured the wine and oil on every bleeding wound. The cup of consolation is full: it overflows: the feeling heart can add no more."

All traditions and records respecting Mr. Richards, concur in according him both the merit and the misfortune of an exceedingly sensitive, impressible organization; and out of the warmth with which he espoused what he believed to be right, and the cause of personal friendship, came the catastrophe to be here narrated. Let me especially premise that I have endeavored to sift both the records and the traditions of the case, to get at the facts.

During the war of 1812 there were some troubles in the church to which Mr. Richards ministered — small in the beginning, serious in the progress, disastrous in the end. One party objected to the votes of three members, foreigners by birth, who, though they had declared their intentions of becoming citizens, and only waited the process of law, were not, as yet, legally entitled to membership in the church. These three, and their wives, being thrown out of the question, consistently withdrew from the organization.*

All this was within the narrow circle of *the Church*. There had for some time been a growing dissatisfaction among the people who contributed to the support of public worship, and

*Thomas Dallett, Elijah Dallett (the elder,) and Thomas Lay, a brother-in-law. The first-named family never returned. Several years after the common sorrow, the other two families resumed their places in the sanctuary, and were among the standards of the church to their dying day.

were not allowed a voice in the administration. This controversy resulted in the withdrawal of *the congregation*, and some sympathizing members of the church, accompanied by Mr. Richards. These, together with the families before mentioned, organized a new church, styled the Church of the Restitution. Including the pastor, I have counted one hundred and fifteen names in the movement.

The early meetings were held in what the minutes term the City Hall, probably the Court House at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut. The first date is Oct. 19, 1812 — the latest, so far as I have minutes, Feb. 22, 1813, — all these being meetings for business. The uniting compact adopted the Articles of Faith of 1790. "Making no distinction between the followers of James Relly and the disciples of Elhanan Winchester, we give the right hand of fellowship to both." They worshipped in the Hall of the University in Fourth Street below Arch. — How long this arrangement continued, and what was done in the Lombard St. Church meanwhile, is beyond my discovery.

We may readily imagine the effect of this state of things upon the mind of such a man as Mr. Richards. A few months, even a few weeks of turmoil, was more than he could bear. Church troubles preyed upon him, and poverty, I suspect, had a share in the mischief — for the old church was largely in arrears to him, and one

branch of a divided society could hardly do what the united society had some difficulty in doing, in the line of salary. Home afflictions increased the sorrow, and the balance of his mind became so disturbed that it was thought expedient to place him in the Pennsylvania Hospital; and there, the dark, starless night came down upon him, in the early part of 1814 — probably about March 1. He was buried in the small ground in the rear of the church. — There is nothing to mark his grave.

— Under the distressing circumstances of the death of Mr. Richards, the people seem to have lost all courage of public worship, particularly as the cause of Universalism (unpopular in the best of times) suffered the odium attached to suicide. What must have been the popular prejudice, when even Doctor Ely, several years later, said,

"Let the hearers of Mr. Kneeland remember his predecessor in the same church, and fear, lest he also, having laid violent hands on himself, should tell them, in his dying moments, with despair settled in his soul, that he had preached to them damning lies." Theol. Review, ii. 476.

This the reverend Doctor said, though it was well known that no one was with Mr. Richards in his dying moments, and that he told his son, who saw him the last of any one, and others who were with him the afternoon before his death, that he could believe in nothing else than

that which he had always preached, but that his mind was broken up — or words to that purport.*

Besides this: Scores and hundreds of similar cases in the orthodox ranks might have been quoted, but the answer would have fallen powerless upon the dull ear of the world — and so the Church of the Restitution was dissolved, and the meeting-house in Lombard Street was closed (unless for an occasional Sunday) until 1816.

Rev. Ebenezer Lester then officiated for a year — followed for a short season by extraordinary enthusiasm under the ministry of Rev. David Gilson, (who came from Western New York) — a man, as described to me by many, of remarkable oratorical abilities. Writing in relation to him, in January, 1821, Rev. Abner Kneeland said, "Mr. Gilson preached in the church from February to May, 1818, and although, for obvious reasons, it was thought not best to settle him, yet the church has never been better filled, for so long a time, than it was during his preaching, which, on the whole, as we believe, was productive of much good."

I quote from the *Christian Messenger*, in which paper of Dec. 9, 1820, a correspondent recommends "Mr. Gilson's School, back of 351 North Third Street above Green, where are taught, on very reasonable terms, not only the elements of literature, but also the higher branches of Mathematics." This was Rev. David Gilson. One

* Philad. Christian Messenger, Vol. i., page 119.

of the believers of that day remembers him as occasionally taking part in the debates of the Berean Society in Northern Liberties Commissioners' Hall in 1821–'22.

Rev. Abner Kneeland.

In September, 1818, Rev. Abner Kneeland assumed the pastoral care of the church and congregation; and here begins a new era and a new departure in the history of Universalism in Philadelphia. All his predecessors had stood firmly upon the Trinitarian platform: Mr. Kneeland was distinctly a Unitarian. And however Murray might distinguish between the wrath of God and *the fear* of the wrath of God, both he and Winchester held to protracted future misery, whereas Kneeland denied that the Bible taught any retribution beyond the present life. In his letter accepting the position of pastor, he referred to the Articles of Faith embodied in the church organization to which he had been invited to minister, and reserved the right to interpret those articles for himself. — A number of families withdrew from the connection because of his heresy in the two particulars referred to, but the large majority soon became a host.

He inaugurated his settlement in Philadelphia by the delivery and publication of Eight Lectures on Universal Benevolence — a work which would be in larger favor among us if the author had been faithful unto death.

— In the spring of 1819 an event transpired for which I think it would be difficult to account, even on the orthodox theory of indictments in courts of law, namely, being moved and instigated by the devil. — In April or May a tract, entitled "Another Voice from the Grave," was issued by the Philadelphia Tract Society. It purported to be the dying confession of an abandoned woman, who died in the greatest agony concerning the state of her soul: "Hell is my awful doom forever! Hell, hell is my everlasting doom!"

The tract was prepared by Rev. Thomas H. Skinner, who was at that time Pastor of the Fifth Presbyterian Church, a man of talent and energy, and of undoubted reputation as to piety. The aim of the publication, the authorship being duly acknowledged, was to startle sinners into prompt repentance by this death-bed cry of a doomed and lost soul.

To the utter consternation of the tractarian, it was shortly discovered that the dying or dead woman was alive and well — the whole story having been a fabrication from beginning to end!

Mr. Skinner justly considered himself compromised by this singular conspiracy, and he and his friends, without any aid from Universalists, explored and exploded the wretched fable. The details of the inquiry were published in the *American Sentinel* of June 26, 1819. — The writer of the tract, while making the honorable amend,

sought to diminish the personal blame of the transaction. He claimed that "the awful character" of the revelations, and "the apparent absence of all selfish design" in his informants, of whom however he had neither personal knowledge nor recommendation — "nay, the apparent evidence of a sacrifice of private feeling, out of regard to the welfare of others, and the good effects which their disclosure seemed calculated to produce, particularly on persons of abandoned lives, conspired to annihilate every doubt of their genuineness and to make incredulity seem a crime."

Mr. Kneeland's printed reply exposed the shallowness of all this apology. An hour or two in the locality indicated (Little Water Street) would have satisfied Mr. Skinner of the truth or the falsity of the story, yet so vigorous was his hostility to Universalism, that, without any investigation whatever, he put the falsehood into print, and finally felt himself compelled to make public acknowledgment that he had been "the subject of flagrant imposition!"

— Mr. Kneeland was not "a learned man," in the sense in which that phrase is used by scholars, though undoubtedly he had some critical knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek and Latin, self-acquired. His fatal mistake was in seeking to make his learning apparent, whereas he only exposed his deficiency. Witness his edition of the Greek New Testament, with emendations of

the Improved English version. His claim was a strictly correct edition, to be everywhere relied upon — but an appended list of omissions and typographical errors, pages of them, only made the book the laughing-stock of really learned men.

Certainly he was an industrious man. Of the seven years of his residence in Philadelphia, he was an editor for five, wrote and published a number of pamphlets, completed a highly creditable phonetic system of orthography, setting up the type with his own hands, had much labor for his pains in the dead-language line, was the helper of his wife in a bonnet-store, besides being a government inspector of that imported sort of goods, — in all of which ways he tried to "make both ends meet" as to a livelihood, though I opine that every experiment with type was a dead investment.

SECOND UNIVERSALIST CHURCH.

Among the multitudes attracted to Lombard St. Church, were many earnest people residing in the Northern Liberties. They organized a Society in March, 1820, and I find a notice of largely-attended meetings for public worship in Commissioners' Hall in that year, on Sunday afternoons, Mr. Kneeland officiating.

In 1821 the Berean Society was formed, mainly for the Discussion of Universalism. The meetings were held on Tuesday evenings, in the

Hall referred to.* Intense interest appears to have been awakened, Mr. Kneeland taking a prominent part. A synopsis of the arguments on both sides, in the early conflict, may be found in the first volume of the Philadelphia *Universalist Magazine*.

In the latter part of Dec., 1821, Rev. Hosea Ballou visited Philadelphia, where he spent three Sundays, during which space he preached twelve sermons, — one in the Northern Liberties Hall, ten in the Lombard St. Church, and one in Washington Saloon, which was situated on the west side of Third Street north of Spruce. The closing sermon of the series was supposed to have been heard by five thousand people. The book, soon after published, entitled Eleven Sermons, (the sermon first delivered being omitted) claimed seven thousand, which is a most extravagant estimate for even a hall one hundred and twenty feet by nearly seventy, with deep galleries.

The great awakening of the preceding incidents prompted thoughts and hopes of another church, especially as Mr. Kneeland was on terms of intimacy with Charles Rogers, a hardware merchant in Market Street, who advanced $7025 for the purchase of a lot on the north side of Callowhill Street east of Fifth Street. He afterwards increased the loan to $10,000, which in-

* I learn by *The Universalist* of December 1, 1825, that the Berean Society was still in existence, renewing its claims to public attention.

vestment continued in the hands of his heirs as an incumbrance upon the property. It was expected that he would donate this claim to the society, but Mr. Kneeland somehow offended him, and the hope perished.

The money needed for the erection of the meeting-house, in addition to the supplemental loan by Mr. Rogers, was raised by the sale of shares in a Building Association at twenty-five dollars each — together with funds derived from the sale of burial lots, chiefly in front of the edifice, which was set back twenty feet from the line of the street. One plot was in the porch between the columns, for which one thousand dollars was paid by James Nice.*

The Callowhill Street lot referred to was obtained in March, 1822. The corner-stone of the building was laid in September of that year. The edifice was completed and dedicated, Oct. 17, 1823. About the same time, Rev. William Morse was settled as the pastor of the church, or rather as Mr. Kneeland's colleague. Their co-operation included even the unusual arrangement of an exchange of one pulpit service every Sunday.

— Passing over many incidents of no special interest, I mark Mr. Kneeland's discussion with

*Long years after the purchaser had been laid to rest, the property was sold, the body removed, and one-half of the price was accepted by his heirs-at-law, as a compromise. All other owners of lots relinquished their claims.

Rev. W. L. McCalla as the most important event in his pastoral connection in this city. The battle-axe of sternest Orthodoxy challenged the Universalist champion to a public discussion, and a brief correspondence adjusted the terms of debate. Mr. Kneeland chose Rev. Wm. Morse as one of the moderators — Mr. McCalla chose Mr. Nathaniel Kennedy, a Presbyterian Elder — and the two united in the choice of Rev. Wm. Hogan, a Roman Catholic, as umpire.

The meeting of the "chieftains" was in the Lombard St. Church, commencing on Tuesday morning, July 13, 1824. It continued four days, and was attended by dense crowds from first to last.

At the end of the third day, Messrs. Hogan and Morse refused any longer to sit with Mr. Kennedy, in consequence of several harsh and unprovoked expressions made to them by him; and Rev. E. S. Ely was chosen in his stead. The debate, "taken down in short-hand," was published in an octavo volume of 336 pages. I have read it carefully, keeping myself as clear as possible of the prejudice and partiality of a partisan, and give it as my judgment that the victory of learning, argument, candor, and courtesy, was decidedly with Mr. Kneeland. And I am persuaded that the influence of that discussion was wide-reaching and permanent in behalf of the doctrine of Universalism.

It would seem as if the prestige of this dis-

cussion, together with continued popularity on the score of his general ability and personal reputation, should have inclined Mr. Kneeland to a life-long residence in Philadelphia. Gradually, however, a spirit of unrest came upon him. He had been urged, he said, to visit North Carolina, (evidently contemplating a triumphal missionary tour.) He wished also to attend the Western Association in Herkimer County, N. Y., in June, 1825, and the General Convention at Hartland, Vt., in Sept. — and would be glad to do so, provided he could make arrangements to that effect — with which view he announced (Dec. 29, 1824) the suspension of the *Gazetteer.*

He made his contemplated visit to North Carolina, arriving in Wilmington Jan. 20, 1825 — preached seventeen times in that region, and was absent four Sundays. He also attended the Western Association in Herkimer County, N. Y., about the first of June. His attendance at the General Convention, Sept. 20, 1825, was prevented by another engagement.

The preceding uncertainties and visitations could not be otherwise than injurious to his already diminished parish in Philadelphia, and his friends could not be blind to the direction of his thoughts. A Second Society had been organized in New York in June, 1823, and a commodious meeting-house was erected with all despatch. The pulpit was now vacant: He was invited to take charge of the church; and for that purpose

he resigned his position in Philadelphia and removed to New York in Oct., 1825.

June 10 of the year preceding, Rev. Edw. Mitchell of N. Y. preached the sermon at the ordination of Rev. Wm. Morse in the Callowhill St. Church in Philadelphia — other services by Rev. Richard Carrique and Mr. Kneeland; but how Mr. Mitchell would greet Mr. Kneeland as a ministerial neighbor in New York — (the former a Trinitarian of the strictly Relly and Murray order — the latter of the strictly Unitarian order, with decided proclivities to Rationalism, and beyond:) And also what strange castings-up and throwings-down would be in New York within a very few years, are matters with which this chapter has nothing to do.

I must not, however, withhold an expression of my admiration of what Mr. Kneeland was (in the main) in Philadelphia, according to the uniform and universal testimony of the people respecting him: Nor can I withhold an expression of my sorrow that this star of the firmament should go away into darkness.

I had no personal knowledge of him until the close of 1828, which was more than three years after his removal to New York, but he was certainly the most venerable man I ever saw in the pulpit. His commanding presence, slightly florid complexion, all-illuminating blue eye; his voice never boisterous, his temper never ruffled; not eloquent according to received standards,

but wonderfully impressive in calmness and persuasive candor — remarkably self-possessed: All these qualities have fastened him in my memory as a man rarely if ever excelled in the pulpit — in manner and in appearance, I mean.

Out of the pulpit, also, he was remarkable. He was tall and erect, and there was a quiet dignity in all his movements. He was never in haste. It is questionable whether even a pursuing mob would have quickened his steps into a hurry; nor can any one who knew him forget his serene courtesy in social life. Besides all this, his moral character was as clear of blemish as we can reasonably hope to see anywhere.

— Rev. William Morse removed to New England in April, 1825, and was succeeded by Rev. Stephen R. Smith. The new pastor had been in Philadelphia in Oct., 1822, at which time he preached ten sermons in the Lombard St. Church and one in the Northern Liberties Hall. Early in January, 1825, he was there again, preaching in both churches five Sundays, (Mr. Kneeland being in the South,) — the acquaintance so ripening into mutual regard that he accepted an invitation to the Second Church in June, 1825.

Rev. Abner Kneeland being in New York in the summer of 1825, Rev. Nehemiah Dodge supplied the Lombard Street desk from the beginning of August to the middle of November, (in some sense an interchange of service) —

Mr. Kneeland becoming pastor of the Prince St. Church, New York, dating Oct. 1.

Rev. Pitt Morse succeeded him in Philadelphia in the spring of 1826. He soon became discouraged. He had migrated from a region in which he was deservedly popular, great congregations waiting upon his ministry in all the Black River country of New York, and here, in the Lombard St. Church, weakened as it was by many causes, there was neither the numbers nor the fervor to which he had been accustomed. Add to this that his old centre and circuit called loudly for his return, and it is not surprising that he resigned his position in April, 1827, and joyfully hurried back to his old love.

After the departure of Mr. Pitt Morse, Rev. John Bisbee ministered a brief space. Intelligent hearers remember the musical strain of his discourses as the gushing of living words from the lips of a statue of flesh and blood. He declined an invitation, and then came Rev. Theophilus Fiske. Being essentially of the propagand type, luxuriating in the fire, his audiences, gathered by sensational topics and held by sensational manner, soon competed with and frequently exceeded in numbers the Callowhill Street camp of Israel, in leadership of Rev. S. R. Smith.

I spent the winter of 1827–'28 in Philadelphia as a journeyman printer, in one of the offices of William Brown, a Quaker; and I divided my

Sundays between our two churches. It was a winter of excitement as affecting Universalism, and the two pastors kept a mid-week festival in the Hall of the Franklin Institute, by a series of lectures on controversial subjects.

— Rev. John Chambers, who, throughout a long and energetic pastorate in Philadelphia, has been a steady and not-improving opponent of Universalism, was at that time in the vigor of manhood, and seemed determined to take the kingdom by violence. Mr. Smith and Mr. Fiske occasionally reviewed his assaults, and then adopted the expedient of printing one of his sermons, word for word, without note or comment. A stenographer was engaged, the sermon of the evening of Dec. 2, 1827, taken down, and printed and largely circulated, greatly to the chagrin of the better class of the adversary's adherents. Certainly his statements were not highly complimentary to Universalists, as the following extracts will convince any doubter:

"The positive and practical tendency of this doctrine is the destruction of all morality and religion. . . . In twenty years, if it were to prevail, there would be scarcely a vestige of Christianity in the world: In fifty years there would be none at all. There is not a vice. . . . that is not the offspring of the doctrine of Universal salvation. There is not a man who tells a lie, or profanes the name of God, &c. All these from the highest to the lowest, proceed upon the ground that they will escape. . . . They all do it under the garb of this infernal doctrine . . . . drunkenness, murder, wars . . . . it is precisely the system of the devil," &c.

The circuit of twenty years was completed long ago, and the term of fifty years will soon be at an end, yet there is still some vestige of morality, religion, Christianity in the world — from which it would seem that Universalism has not sufficiently prevailed to work the prophetic mischief, or that Mr. Chambers was not a true prophet. Perhaps however he was in the dark respecting the teachings of Universalism: They all "proceed upon the ground that they will *escape*." Unfortunately for his logic, this falsehood, utterly condemned by Universalism, is one of the fundamental temptations and hopes of the "orthodoxy" of all ages! It has been a life-long delusion of Mr. Chambers that Universalism is guilty of the imputed wrong, whereas the error has been constantly standing up in his own pulpit, or *lying* at his own door.

— As to Mr. Smith, he was long ago canonized by the universal suffrage of our people, and only in the way of encomium have I anything to say concerning him. He was a most earnest, impressive, public speaker, with the single fault of pouring out the burning or the melting words of his inspiration, until it seemed as if his lungs must collapse beyond recovery. As a writer he was very thorough, and I have often sorrowed that he left so few marks of his pen in Philadelphia. Besides editorial articles, chiefly of temporary interest, his printed record is comprised in four or five pamphlets.

During the larger part of his residence in this city, he felt himself a prisoner if not a martyr. A dyspeptic, with the usual concomitant of hypochondria, he longed for the ministerial associations of former years and the joys of his rural home. By agreement with the church, he continued as a helper until the close of September, 1828, and devoutly, exultantly, returned to Clinton, N. Y. He was immediately succeeded by Rev. Zelotes Fuller, who, first coming hither as a supply, was continued as pastor until the early summer of 1832.

— Mr. Fiske of the First Church certainly possessed remarkable qualities, and I have frequently been grieved that a man capable of being and of doing so much, should have been and done so little in his generation. I do believe that if he had mastered his impulses and brought himself down to the studies specially fitted for the profession, he would scarcely have been second to any minister known in our order.

He delighted in missionary operations, and in the summer of 1828 projected a grand tour to the West. He would buy a horse and a wagon, and *I* must go along with him, and "we would stir up the Gentiles on every hand." — The project suited me, especially as it would give me an opportunity to try the Methodist plan of "education on a circuit." Accordingly, early in October I met him in Philadelphia, all ready for a start. But the wind had changed. I must

begin to preach immediately, and then accompany him to New York and take charge of a Universalist paper — which I did.

I supplied for him in Philadelphia a Sunday or two in the latter part of the winter of 1828–'29, and preached there all the Sundays in May, he being in New York, pushing the *Gospel Herald* into circulation.

Late in the summer of 1829, his pastoral relation was dissolved by resignation, and the young preacher to whom the Philadelphians had hearkened with so much courtesy, was ere long his successor, for a term, as it proved, of nearly ten years.*

* The church memorandum dated my pastorate August 19, 1829, though my election was later.

CHAPTER IV.

Rev. Abel C. Thomas — Early Experience — Christian Party in Politics — Church Chains — A Politician's Plan — Burial-Grounds — Day of Fasting — Politician — Ely and Thomas Discussion — Corrections — Universalism Renounced — Presbyterians and Infidels — Catechism — Rev. S. W. Fuller — Review of Rev. James Patterson — The Heathen — Two Institutes — Rev. Hosea Ballou — Nine Sermons — Kensington — Rev. William L. McCalla — A Discussion — Reform Convention — Case Stated — Need of a Politician — George Combe.

THERE will be difficulty, in portions of this chapter, to keep clear of personal history, and I can only commend the circumstances to considerate judgment.

With no purpose of self-disparagement, (which sometimes is only self-laudation in disguise) I confess that I was not well-prepared for the important trusts committed to my charge. Strictly without a tutor of any sort from the beginning, with no stores of reading and very few books, with not one lesson in sermonizing, and no example in any department of pastoral life, I was put into positions which sorely tried me; and I have often thought how much lighter would have been the burden, and how much easier the yoke, and of how much more value my service, if I could have passed even a year in the study

and companionship of some discreet and competent minister of the reconciliation, before taking upon me the responsibilities of the pastoral office in a great city.

Self-congratulation is mingled with devout thanksgiving that I was enabled, with some measure of usefulness, to endure as seeing him who is invisible; and if the foregoing acknowledgment shall persuade some of my younger brethren to diligence in endeavor and patience in waiting, I shall feel that these allusions to my early experience have been pardoned.

—About the date of my settlement in Philadelphia, there was intensifying discussion respecting Dr. Ely's proposed Christian Party in Politics. In ten years, or at the most in twenty, (so it was urged,) the political power of the nation might be swayed by men trained in the evangelical creeds. This was proclaimed as both intention and prophecy, on one side, while on the other it was feared that the unity of the Protestant Churches would result in a union of Church and State, and the destruction of civil and religious liberty, as exemplified in all Roman Catholic countries.

The old conflict has latterly been renewed by certain zealots, who are determined to secure an acknowledgment of Christianity in the Constitution of the United States, so as to have at least the form of godliness. The former movement had "the consecration of the Sabbath" as its

initial step, and when the U. S. Mail was stopped in Princeton, N. J., on Sunday, (in the winter of 1829–'30, I believe,) the lines of party seemed sharply defined, Universalists having sympathy with non-professors of religion, as to the issue in hand. Many indignation meetings were held by the latter, those in the County Court House and those in the N. L. Commissioners' Hall, being especially crowded, and in earnest. Certainly there had been no treaty to give him ten shekels of silver by the year, and a suit of apparel, and his victuals, but when a young Universalist clergyman appeared in the midst to take the side of the people, there was congratulation on Micah's principle: Now I know that the Lord will do me good, because I have a Levite for my priest.

When the matter of Sunday Mails was settled by the famous report of Richard M. Johnson, and its adoption by Congress, the multitudes were subdued into calm, leaving it an open question whether religion, on either side, had been promoted by the controversy and its cause. There was also the open question how far a clergyman may expediently take ground, with or without party association, in political contests; and yet it is clear that government has to do with the moralities of life, and it is possible to drag even noblest aims and reforms into the party-political arena.

— That Universalists were consistent, and also

in the advance, may readily be illustrated: By Act of April 4, 1798, of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, a right was granted to any religious society in the city of Philadelphia, then bounded by Vine Street on the north and South Street on the south, to stretch a chain across the street in front of its church edifice during the hours of worship on Sundays. The Act was very precise in all its details, and every outside barbarian incurred the moderate penalty of thirty dollars for any and every interference with the vested prerogative of the saints. — By Supplement of February 20, 1816, the Act was so extended as to include the incorporated district of the Northern Liberties. The Universalist Church in Callowhill Street was within the lines of this extension, but stretched no chain. The Lombard St. Church, after long exercising its legal right, voluntarily relinquished it, as appears by this memorandum in the minutes:

> November 2, 1829. A Committee was appointed to make sale of the brass branches and the iron chain and posts for the street.

This relinquishment was, I believe, the first case of the sort, and an immediate consequence was, a noisy time of it over the rough cobblestone pavement in front of the church. Third, Fourth and Fifth Streets, also Pine, Spruce and Walnut, were closed against all vehicles, and down Second and out Lombard was the route

of wheel-carriages going westward from the city, during the hours of worship.

As a means of self-help, additional to the principle of the movement, we joined others in application to the Legislature for relief. A printed memorial was laid on a table in the east aisle of the church, and the pastor called upon his congregation to sign it. Not one declined — for were we not engaged in the removal of church-chains in a two-fold sense?

I do not now remember the ground taken in our application; but others, as we learned, reasoned the case from the standpoint of religious liberty. Such an appeal, however, would have had no effect upon the majority of the Legislature. One single cry of "Infidel!" would have promptly sealed the fate of the bill for the repeal of the law.

Dr. Jesse R. Burden, a legislator and prominent politician of that day, of Universalist stock and sympathy, adopted and urged this *practical* argument: Church-chains engendered fights and broils on the Lord's Day, in front of the churches. Rough men would insist on breaking through — the sexton would resist, and frequently was beaten. Besides: Physicians must ride hither and thither in visiting their patients, alike on the Sabbath as on other days; yet if they should be later than ten o'clock in making their last "call," on the Lord's Day, they would be shut in until after twelve.

In illustration of which, the sagacious politician prepared a map of the built-up sections of the city, with a bright red mark across the street in front of every church. Do you not see that the physician is a prisoner? If once he gets *in*, how is he to visit his patients? or how is he to get out?

The practical, visible argument was unanswerable. The law was repealed March 15, 1831.

Meanwhile there was increasing estrangement from the dominant churches — one expression of which had to do with the burial of the dead. There were spacious vaults and consecrated grounds adjacent to meeting-houses, in which members had, or the wealthy might purchase, a right of sepulture, but humble non-professors must needs pay largely for "opening a grave" in an out-of-the-way section, and even then had no fee in the spot. The same grave might be opened for another and another, until only sufficient depth of earth covered the uppermost to answer the prescription of law.

As a remedy, an association bought an acre (less or more) in the suburbs, to be fitted up as a burial-place, without respect to creed or party, in lots of ten feet by eight, (varying the dimensions as they saw fit,) the price ranging from ten to fifteen dollars for an absolute title in the ground, that is, for purposes of burial. I cannot remember the chronological order, but may mention Ronaldson's, Mutual,

Union, Machpelah, La Fayette, Philanthropic, Philadelphia, — all these being in the southern districts.

The tendency of this "social system of sepluture" was to diminish the revenue of the churches, as well as to restrict church authority. It also estranged non-professors, especially as not merely Roman Catholic priests, but some Protestant clergymen, were reluctant or positively refused to officiate in these unconsecrated grounds. After several years recourse was had to the Chaplains of the Odd Fellows, and other beneficent Orders, but dependence was largely upon the Universalist ministers, who made it a point never to refuse or decline. And as it was customary, in that day, to walk in procession from the house of mourning to "the house appointed for all the living," Sunday afternoon being the time preferred, as not interfering with daily labor, we many times preached to very large congregations at the open grave. I am persuaded, indeed, that for several years we addressed many more different people, in those burial-grounds, in the course of a year, than we did from our own pulpits.

—I was indebted to the sage friend before-mentioned for another lesson in the art and mystery of management. It was in 1832, during the first triumphal march of the cholera, in this country. A meeting of the clergy, of all sects, was called through the public prints — the

gathering to be in the Court House at Chestnut and Sixth Streets — to consider the expediency of appointing a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer.

In consultation with Rev. S. W. Fuller, who was then on a visit to Philadelphia, we determined to attend and oppose it — Mr. Fuller insisting that *I* must be the spokesman, for the reason that *he* was not a citizen, but simply a visitor.

There was a large assembly of clergymen, and it is needless to say that our opposition was ineffectual. In the vote, there were only two voices in the negative — yet no one can tell how wide-searching were the thoughts uttered on that occasion, growing chiefly out of Isaiah lviii. We were openly denounced as infidels, but this had become an old story, "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing."

The next day I met the politician. "You suffered an opportunity to pass," said he: "certainly you might have managed the case more adroitly."

"What more could we have done?" was my question in reply.

"No doubt you had the argument, but *they* had the votes. You must have known that they would overwhelm you on the main issue."

"What more could we have done?" I repeated. To which he replied:

"You should have silently acquiesced in the

appointment of a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer; and then you should have moved that a committee be appointed to register, in the daily papers, the name of every clergyman who fled from the city during the cholera. In this way you would have had them on the hip, for they would not have dared to vote down such a resolution as that."

"But suppose," I suggested, "that the presiding officer [Bishop White] had pronounced my motion out of order. What then?"

"Only this," replied my politic counsellor: "You would have had the public sentiment with you — and this I suppose to have been exactly your aim. As the case now stands, the public sentiment is with *them*."

— In these chapters I do not claim to be either philosopher or prophet, but simply an historian — yet I acknowledge it to be a question well worth considering, whether our early opposition, or methods of opposition to orthodox plans and means, was profitable. I should be sorry to feel that we had done little good aside from increase of numerical force. Our converts, made by the power of truth and earnestness, were mostly from the ranks of non-professors; but it will scarcely be doubted that our most efficient and enduring disciples were from the classes known as the religious. Would we not, as a whole, have made greater head-way, as well as heart-way, had we taken earlier ground for

organization and church-discipline, missionary societies, Sunday Schools, conference meetings, and the like?

I am now simply querying what I did *not* query at the first. *Then*, we had chiefly this as our motto and resolve: The head of Dagon, and both the palms of his hands, *must be* cut off, upon the threshold.

— Rev. L. F. W. Andrews became the pastor of the Second Church in Oct., 1832. He resigned at the end of less than a year, and has since made his home in Georgia, enjoying, I trust, a serene evening of life.

— In the beginning of Nov., 1833, our churches were blessed by the coming of Rev. Savillion W. Fuller, one of the noblest-hearted men that ever lived. Scarcely had he been welcomed as pastor, ere his strong hand was put to the gospel plough in our city.

In the early part of Dec., 1833, we united in a letter to several distinguished clergymen of Philadelphia, inviting them to deliver a series of lectures in our churches in proof of the doctrine of future endless misery, or to allow *us* to deliver a series of lectures in *their* churches, in proof of the doctrine of the final salvation of all mankind.

The Rev. Dr. Brantley, (pastor of the First Baptist Church, the one from which Winchester and others were ejected in 1781) made an assenting reply, provided the Trustees of his church

were willing to admit us, but nothing effectual resulted from the proposal.

Rev. E. S. Ely came manfully to the work suggested, only changing the form of investigation to a written correspondence, both sides to be published in *The Philadelphian*, of which he was editor, and the N. Y. *Christian Messenger*, of which I was one of the editors.

It will not be considered either a singular or a self-commendatory avowal, that I think I could in some respects amend some parts of my share in that discussion. In the first place, I was not called upon to take ground as to future or no future punishment. I have for a long time considered that point of less consequence than do many of my brethren on either side of it; and while I do not yet see that the Scriptures teach a retribution superadded to the day-by-day judgments of the divine government, I have no doubt of an educational, reformatory, disciplinary process in the life to come.

In the second place, my printed exposition of the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, though consistent and defensible on scriptural grounds, is not so clear to me now as it was in the progress of the discussion.

In those days I had few books for consultation, and I could not see whither I should drift if once I went away from (or out of) the Bible for an argument; but soon after the discussion closed, I was enlightened by the acknowledgment of

Macknight, a critic of distinguished authority, that even if it be allowed that "the parable in question is based in the Grecian mythology, it will not at all follow that our Lord approved of what the common people thought concerning those matters." Accordingly I have long considered the rich man and Lazarus a heathen fable, introduced by our Lord to illustrate a lesson — in the same sense or way that we treat of witches, fairies, gnomes, and other superstitions — or as we speak of St. Anthony's fire, or St. Vitus's dance — or as St. Paul spake of the damsel who had a spirit of divination, or Python.

— I must not pass from this Ely and Thomas Discussion without narrating an interesting incident during its progress, indicating, Universalists thought, that the Doctor felt himself hard pushed. — An editorial article in *The Philadelphian* of Jan. 8, 1835, announced the following:

"*Universalism Renounced.* On Saturday evening the 10th instant, in the Session Room of the Third Presbyterian Church, Mr. Russell Canfield, who has long been a Universalist, will state his reasons for renouncing the doctrine of Universal Salvation to all who attend."

Forthwith I despatched a note to Dr. Ely, informing him who and what Mr. Canfield was, to whom it would be well to put certain questions (which I specified;) and immediately inserted the following proclamation in the *Philadelphia Liberalist*, bearing the title, *Presbyterianism and Infidelity.*

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Be it known that Ezra Stiles Ely is editor of The Philadelphian, and also pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church: That Mr. Russell Canfield renounced Christianity *in toto* some years since: That he is one of the New York Free Inquirers, as they term themselves: That he came to Philadelphia to bring the good people of the City of Brotherly Love to a knowledge of the joyous truth that Christianity is a fable invented by the priests of the dark ages: That he found little encouragement in prosecuting the work openly: And that he has now united with the Presbyterians to wage war against the doctrine of Universalism.

Given under my hand this 8th day of January, 1835.

ABEL C. THOMAS.

On the evening of the 10th, according to appointment, there was a mixed assembly in the Session Room, and Mr. Canfield delivered his harangue, unconscious of what was coming. When he had finished, Dr. Ely pulled a paper from his pocket, (doubtless it was my letter of warning;) and the following catechism of the lecturer by the learned divine ensued:

"Do you believe that the Bible is a revelation from God?" was the first question in order. — It was clear to the late spokesman that his orthodoxy was more than suspected, and so he promptly answered, "I do not."

"That is bad," rejoined the Doctor. "Do you believe in life and immortality beyond the grave?" was the next question. — "I do *not*," was the equally prompt answer.

"That is worse," said the Doctor. "Do you believe in the existence of Almighty God?" — "No, I do *not*," was the response.

"Worst of all — out of the frying-pan into the fire," said the mortified colleague of the outspoken Atheist.

Had it not been so degrading, said my informant, the scene would have been ludicrous.

In *The Philadelphian* of Jan. 15, the Doctor made a lame apology — stating that, at the date of application for the Session Room, the applicant "was a perfect stranger to him, whose name he did not then ask," and that "what opinions Mr. C. had adopted was unknown to him [Ely] until he saw Presbyterianism and Infidelity, in the *Philadelphia Liberalist*," &c.

All this was probably true, but there was the discreditable fact that he granted the use of his Session Room to an entire stranger, simply because that stranger was to renounce Universalism! Besides: Dr. Ely had seen my proclamation, and had received my letter, several hours before the time appointed for the lecture.

The Doctor's solace was in three items: 1. The lecturer believed that the Bible teaches the doctrine of endless misery. 2. He generally found that Universalism did not make men better. 3. He affirmed that Universalism has a strong tendency to infidelity and immorality.

Of course I pursued the incident. Partialists and Infidels unite in five particulars: 1. They agree in the statement that the Bible teaches the doctrine of endless misery. 2. They unite in the judgment that Universalism has a strong tendency to immorality. 3. They agree in maintaining doctrines which, however dissimilar, are abominations in the sight of Universalists.

4. They unite in the declaration that Universalism leads to infidelity. 5. They unite in opposition to Universalism.

A second proclamation, embodying these particulars, "given under my hand," ended the battle "on that line."

Having failed to secure the controversial company of any one of the clergymen we had addressed, Mr. Fuller sought a combatant in other directions. A single letter, in reply, and yet *not* in reply, came from Rev. James Patterson — and then all was silent on that side of the house.

In *The Philadelphian* of April 24, 1834, that first and final letter appeared, addressed to Mr. Fuller. There was no attempt to answer the considerations presented by the latter. On the contrary, he was wittily stigmatized as a false prophet, a wolf in sheep's clothing, a fool, &c. The writer protested that he would give no heed to anything Mr. Fuller had said, or might say; and then proceeded to an argument which put his own head into a noose, and tightened the lasso by every additional illustration, as follows:

"The prophets describing the New Testament dispensation, said it would be very plain and easy of comprehension, even so much so that wayfaring men, *though fools*, need not err therein. How does it happen that Religionists of every age, except Universalists, *et id omne genus*, believe in future punishment, of some kind, which is eternal? All heathen nations do. Did not the Greeks and Romans believe it?"

Here follow the fable-stories of Ixion, Tantalus, Sisyphus — to all of which Mr. Patterson appended this sage argument:

"Now what would all these mean, if they did not believe that evil doers suffered endless punishment? The causes assigned for these punishments among mythologists are various, but all agree as to the facts, that they represented eternal punishment."

To which Mr. Fuller thus replied, pushing the argument in several directions:

"Will you tell me how it happened that all Israel bowed the knee to heathen Baal, excepting seven thousand men? Answer me this, and I will then answer how all religionists, excepting Universalists, happen to believe in the heathen dogma of endless misery. . . . On your own showing you believe a heathen doctrine. If the fact that the heathen believe this doctrine is any reason why *we* should believe it, will you tell me why we are not equally obligated to believe all their ridiculous notions and sentiments? . . . I call upon you to renounce the doctrine of endless misery because the heathen all believe, and have believed it, and it has done them no good; and because, by your own showing, it *is* a heathen doctrine. . . . I believe in all the hells spoken of in the Bible, but I do not believe in the heathen hell, and trust I never shall unless I become a heathen."

I make these extracts as samples of what might have been expected of Mr. Fuller, if he had succeeded in drawing one of the strong men into controversy. We knew he had put on the whole armor of God, and we regretted that he had not an opportunity, in discussion, to wield the sword of the Spirit.

In Nov., 1834, Rev. Hosea Ballou, being then on a visit* to Philadelphia, preached Nine Sermons. They were published in book form. The seventh of the series was delivered by request of the Young Men's Universalist Institute, an organization of the young men of the Lombard St. Church, dating March, 1834, designed to help our growth in both knowledge and grace. A second institute, on the same plan, was organized in the Callowhill St. Church in April, 1835 — from which date the titles, respectively, were the First and the Second Institute.

Of both these societies, it may be affirmed in general terms, that they were largely instrumental in promoting the cause of Universalism no less than the social and educational interests of the members. Mr. Fuller, it will readily be believed, took an active part in the Second and frequently visited the First, but he had a peculiar drawing to the Philadelphia Lyceum. This was an unsectarian organization, consisting chiefly of educated people, men and women — and he thought he could work effectively in that circle for the social advantage of Universalists, without neglecting his own religious connections. It will not be doubted that he gained the highest possible regard of his associates in the Lyceum.

* In May and June, 1828, he was in Philadelphia, on exchange with Stephen R. Smith. We have no account of his sermons, excepting one, delivered at the ordination of Mr. Fiske. It was published.

As to clergymen, Rev. Asher Moore came out from the Lombard St. Church in the spring of 1832, which was two years before the earliest of the organizations referred to. Rev. John Perry, Samuel Ashton and John H. Gihon, began the ministry in 1834 — also William West, though not formally a member of the First Institute, 1834. Daniel C. Smith, (of the Second) 1835. William Fishbough, 1836. James Gallager, 1838.[1]

Some of these have gone the way of all the earth — those who remain have passed the meridian of life, — some are engaged in secular pursuits — and all are scattered; yet I often think of them, as they were in that hopeful and helpful day, and my memory is refreshed by the dew of their youth.

— Early in Dec., 1834, Mr. Fuller proposed that we engage the use of the Commissioners' Hall in Kensington, for a series of propagand lectures in the afternoon of Sundays. This was done, with a large attendance from the beginning — so large, indeed, as to excite hopes of what did not come to pass — as may be seen by this memorandum in the N. Y. *Christian Messenger* of Jan. 17, 1835:

"Our meetings . . . . continue to attract overflowing congregations. . . . It is probable there will be a Universalist Church in Kensington in a year or two."

The interest was kept up and intensified by

the open endeavors of the dominant clergy to hold the people in check — endeavors answered by speech and by printed reviews. It could, however, hardly be expected that the stated pastors should long persist in this missionary field, especially as the brightening prospects of the erection of a meeting-house, in that district, gradually faded away.

— We tried it afterwards in a Hall at the corner of Race and Thirteenth, but with no enduring prophecy of success.

In another part of this history I gave a brief account of the Berean Society of 1821. In the same spirit, and in the same Hall, a meeting for discussion of the same subject, was organized in 1836, commencing on Friday evening, March 25, and continuing weekly.

A number of lay-disputants on the anti-Universalist side took part, and on the fifth evening, April 22, Rev. William L. McCalla appeared in the arena of argument. He and I came specially into opposition, and after the meeting adjourned, we entered into preliminaries for a regular discussion. Arrangements were completed and signed the next day, and on the following Monday evening we stood face to face in the pulpit of the Callowhill St. Church.

In the discussion between Kneeland and McCalla in 1824, there was provision for three moderators, but in the arrangements between *us*

Mr. McCalla insisted (and I did not object) that each party to the debate should be the sole judge of the relevancy of his own arguments — which rendered a moderator necessary only to see that each party had his appointed opportunity and time, and to preserve order in the assembly. As our presiding officer we agreed upon Elijah Dallett, then junior, and long since crowned with the hoary head. Mr. McCalla further stipulated that the interview should be continued "until both parties shall be satisfied."

The discussion continued five weeks, four evenings in each week — at the end of which time Mr. McCalla withdrew. Of the merits of the debate, and which of us had the disadvantage of the other, it becomes not me to write. I can however affirm that it was a fierce conflict, and I doubt not that when we meet in the great hereafter, we shall mutually acknowledge that we might have been more religious in the exhibitions of our zeal.

In Dec., 1837, a Convention for a reform of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, met in Philadelphia. There was one item in which Universalists felt specially interested, and they presented it in a memorial, the argument of which could not be adversely answered.

That memorial, after naming the States the Constitutions of which "either do not contain or expressly forbid the establishment of any

religious test whatever," mentioned the States which contained some sort of religious test, with specifications, and then condensed the argument against any religious test whatever, as follows:

"Because ours is a government instituted for the protection of the civil and religious rights of every citizen, without regard to sect or party: Because the civil and religious rights of some citizens of the Commonwealth must be affected and abridged by any religious test whatever: Because the argument which would justify one religious test would justify another, and we know not to what disastrous results the adoption of the principle would lead: Because any religious test whatever is virtually a creed, and as such is at war with the sacred rights of conscience, the inviolability of which is guaranteed by the spirit of our republican institutions: Because on the same principle that a religious test may be instituted, church and state may be united, and a government religion established: Because any religious test whatever is in effect a bounty on hypocrisy; and in our judgment no government should present to any citizen any inducement to profess religious opinions which he does not conscientiously believe: Because the mere profession of any religious opinions whatever, does not necessarily imply that an individual can abide the judicious political test, Is he honest? is he capable? And because a citizen who is ineligible to office in any State the Constitution of which contains a religious test, is nevertheless eligible to the high station of President of the United States."

That memorial was largely signed, and only two persons to whom I presented it refused: one of them a Roman Catholic priest and the other a leading Quaker of the heterodox section. I

had been recommended to them both as liberal men — men who had not forgotten that Roman Catholics and Friends had been oppressed and persecuted by authority of religious tests!

In all this movement we might have been benefited by the counsel of my sage political friend. We failed in our application because we *asked too much on the face of it.* Had we prayed, merely, that the Constitution of Pennsylvania might be made to conform to the Constitution of the United States, in debarring a religious test, we might have succeeded; but we petitioned for a specific declaration that "The civil rights, privileges or capacities of any citizen, shall be in no way affected, diminished or enlarged, merely on account of his religious opinions." This was more than the piety of the Commonwealth could bear!

The proposed amendment was set aside by an overwhelming majority, and the Constitution of Pennsylvania (as in 1790) still announces, grammatically, that we are a nation of Atheists and disbelievers in future retribution, yet so liberal withal, that "No person who acknowledges the being of a God and a future state of rewards and punishment, shall, on account of his religious sentiments, be disqualified to hold any office or place of trust and profit under this Commonwealth."

We know what the paragraph was meant to declare, but as to holding office it has always

been a dead letter. The only accruing mischief ever known was in a construction of the Common Law affecting witnesses; but even the Common Law on this matter has also long been practically cancelled. Any lawyer now making this pretext for rejection of any witness, or any judge permitting it, would be frowned into obscurity. Competency to testify is *one* thing: credibility as a witness is another. This is the whole question, as always held by Universalists — a position everywhere conceded by the most learned jurists of the world, even where the witness has everything at stake.

When I said respecting Mr. Fuller that his special drawing was to the Philadelphia Lyceum, I did not mean that he so far preferred it as to neglect any of his religious duties. The meetings of that company were held on Saturday afternoons; and he would promptly have renounced any times or seasons that would keep him away from any regular or appointed gathering of Universalists. And the same was true of his co-worker.

There was one exception — one which, I believe, belongs to this history. I allude to the first series of lectures, delivered in Jan., 1839, by George Combe.

Was it not a remarkable fact that only three clergymen attended them? — namely, Elder Frederick Plummer, of the Christ-ian order, and

the pastors of the two Universalist Churches. The distinguished lecturer acknowledged the honorable singularity of our attendance, and we had the pleasure of making his personal acquaintance.

Considering phrenology as simply the basis of a system of mental and moral philosophy, it has been of incalculable service to the cause of Universalism. What men are constitutionally, and by inward necessity — what they may become by an outward necessity — what they may become in the line of free-will, rising into the free-will of God, — these far-reaching questions, with their lessons of charity and devotion, have brought multitudes of thinking people out of darkness into marvellous light, and have settled the claims of a religious morality in this: "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."

CHAPTER V.

Second Church—Death of Rev. S. W. Fuller—Rev. T. D. Cook — Rev. L. B. Mason — Rev. C. C. Burr — Church closed — Rev. A. B. Grosh — Rev. N. Doolittle — Sale of Callowhill St. Church — Eighth St. Church — Rev. R. Eddy — Removal of a dead Brother — Monument — Several Pastors — Rev. M. Ballou re-settled — Sale of Eighth St. Church — Germania Hall — New Church — Kensington — Native American War — Church in Trouble — Spiritualism — First Church—End of the World — Lectures — Rev. Mr. Coval — Church of the Messiah — Rev. Dr. Brooks — Roman Catholic Controversy — Rev. G. Collins — Liturgy — A Great Scheme — Rev. R. Eddy — Rev. H. C. Leonard—Fidelity.

DATING July, 1839, Mr. Thomas resigned the pastoral charge of the First Church, in Lombard Street, after a ministry of nearly ten years, and was succeeded by Rev. Asher Moore in April, 1840.

THE SECOND CHURCH.

At this date, Rev. S. W. Fuller was evidently passing away, and in little more than six weeks there was a crowded funereal assembly in the church in Callowhill Street.

It was commented upon then, and has since been mentioned as a fitting close of the good man's life, that when, on the Saturday evening preceding his decease, a brother minister said to him, "I fear I shall never see you again alive:

I am to preach to your people to-morrow: What shall I say to them?"

"Tell them," said the dying Christian, "that I shall undoubtedly die believing all that I have ever preached to them."

Before the message was delivered, and in the serene light of Sunday morning, he exclaimed, "Bless the Lord, O my soul!" and passed through the gates of day, May 17, 1840, in the thirty-seventh year of his age.

A Memoir, written by Rev. A. Moore, including a few of his writings, (far from being his best, as witness his many contributions to the *Messenger* and the *Union*,) was published soon after his decease, and a monument was erected over his remains in front of the church, by the ready liberality of his parishioners. I always felt grateful to Thomas Benson, a long time the sexton, for his care of the spot. For several years, during the entire season of green and bloom, he trained climbing vines over the memorial stone.

For six months next following Mr. Fuller's decease, the Society was content with a series of supplies, chiefly by Mr. Perry and Mr. Gihon, who had officiated during the illness of the late pastor. These clergymen, having for several years been located, the former in Reading, the latter in New England and more recently in Hightstown, N. J., had returned to Philadelphia and engaged in the printing-business, separately,

with a reservation of interest in the cause of Universalism as preachers.

From the close of Nov., 1840 to the close of 1843, Rev. T. D. Cook was pastor of the Second Church. Then came supplies. Early in March, 1844, there was a temporary arrangement with Rev. L. B. Mason. This ceased in June. Rev. A. B. Grosh officiated in July and August. Other ministers followed, each for a Sunday or two, — and Rev. C. C. Burr took ministerial charge Jan. 1, 1845. He had neither fitness nor taste for the duties of pastoral life, but so popular were his talents as a public speaker, that his large meeting-house was filled, often to overflowing, during his entire term of service.

He continued until the close of 1847, — and then there was no pastor for the space of two years. During the first nine months of this period there were supplies: During the ensuing fifteen months the meeting-house was closed, and silent as a tomb. The multitudes gathered by eloquence, were scattered — illustrating the distinction between a congregation and a church — also, perhaps, between an inward power and an outward force. Debt had accumulated, and there seemed little prospect of redemption and revival.

Nevertheless a strong rally of friends cleared off everything excepting the permanent incumbrance, and Rev. A. B. Grosh became pastor in the close of 1849. Considering the circum-

stances, the connection was prosperous, but Mr. Grosh yearned for a settlement of less embarrassment, and retired in the autumn of 1851.

He was followed by Rev. Nelson Doolittle, during whose administration, namely, in Feb., 1854, the Callowhill Street property was sold, and thus passed away from the hands of our people after a church-history of thirty years. The close proximity of market-houses and of saloons of an undesirable sort, prompted removal from the neighborhood.

The Committee having the matter in charge bought a church on Eighth Street north of Noble, May 18, 1854, and thither the congregation removed.

April 1, 1855, Rev. Richard Eddy became pastor of the church. One at least of the incidents of our intercourse, belonging, too, to this history, will never fade from *his* memory, nor from mine. I refer to the removal of the remains of Rev. Savillion W. Fuller, who, as before mentioned, was buried in front of the church in Callowhill Street. The plan of the purchaser required the erasure of all marks of burials. The monument to Mr. Fuller was thrown aside among the rubbish, and when recovered was somewhat broken. It was stored in a marble yard, with a view to having it recut, but, singularly enough, it was mislaid and lost.

The mortal vestment of our brother, lying deep, was not disturbed at the time of the sale

of the property. Over the spot, without thought of what was beneath, multitudes of visitors to the theatre * tramped six evenings or nights of the week, and the Lord's Day was silent, with a constant rebuke by the once eloquent and now dumb lips lying there. A few friends resolved that even the dust should be taken away and put to rest in a more befitting place. There was a limitation of hours for the accomplishment of this purpose. The theatre on Saturday night seldom closed until twelve, and it was desirable that all should be over by an early hour on Sunday morning.

The men engaged found difficult digging, and when they reached the well-known depth, all work was stopped by a large blue flag-stone, covering and over-lapping the coffin. There was not time to begin the excavation anew from the top, and so by means of sledge-hammers, the stone was broken, and the coffin sufficiently opened to allow removal of all that was there, entombed. Nearly everything had perished — all indeed but the larger bones and the large skull of the departed saint. These were carefully handed to the brother-ministers, reverently placed, together with the dust, in a box prepared

* Other churches in Philadelphia had (or have) been transformed into theatres. The Presbyterian Church in Seventh below Arch. The Covenanters' Church in Eleventh near Chestnut. The people of St. James' Episcopal Church tore down the building before they gave possession of the lot, to shut out the possibility of ignoble use.

for their reception, and removed to the Odd Fellows' Cemetery, in the cold gray starlight of that solemn Sabbath morning.

This earth-history was completed in 1869. I record it with a blessing on the memory of Miss Maria Sauerman, who obtained a number of contributions towards defraying the expenses of a Fuller Monument, and during her last illness charged Rev. James Shrigley to take the subscription in hand and complete the undertaking. In conjunction with Mr. Charles Otto he faithfully executed the trust; and whoso may be wandering in that cemetery, will be attracted by a beautiful marble monument on the main avenue, bearing an inscription in honor of our departed brother.

On the top of the foot-stone is an open Bible, with a leaf turned down at the words, "In Christ shall all be made alive," a cross lying upon the page. How expressive of what had long been a lamp to his feet and a light to his path!

Nov. 1, 1856, Mr. Eddy resigned his pastorate in the Eighth St. Church, and removed to Canton, N. Y., the seat of St. Lawrence University, where, it was thought, he would be eminently useful. But the War of the Rebellion soon found him in the field as a Chaplain in the Army of the Republic.

— From this point onward I have only a few incidents of special interest to narrate in reference to the Second Church, and its pastors:

May 1, 1857 to May 9, 1859, Rev. M. Ballou.
Summer of 1859 to summer of 1863, Rev. B. M. Tillotson.
August 16, 1863 to May 20, 1866, Rev. J. T. Goodrich.

Nov. 1, 1866, Rev. M. Ballou was recalled and re-settled — permanently, we trust. The old love was rekindled — indeed had not died out. There was however a restlessness in the congregation: "Like the Presbyterians and the Methodists, our predecessors, we should be glad to sell the Eighth St. Church, and 'go up town.'"

The property was sold in Aug., 1870, and the congregation immediately removed to Germania Hall, at the junction of Seventeenth and Poplar, where worship was statedly held until the dedication of a new and very elegant church in Master Street west of Sixteenth, April 3, 1872, to be known as the Church of the Restoration.

THE THIRD CHURCH.

The propagand lectures of Rev. S. W. Fuller and his co-worker, in Kensington Commissioners' Hall in 1835–'36, made no visible permanent impression. Doubtless there was a silent leavening influence, but the effectual stir must be dated in 1840–'41 under the ministry of the then resident preachers.

A Baptist clergyman tried his hand at destructive opposition, and was keenly reviewed, first in speech and then in print.* A subscrip-

* "A Sermon against the doctrine of Universalism delivered Jan. 22, 1841, by Rev. M. Ketcham." Reviewed by John H. Gihon.

tion was forthwith opened for the erection of a meeting-house. A lot was obtained in Phœnix Street at a ground-rent equivalent to $1400 freehold purchase, and earnest efforts were made to build in a creditable manner — members of the First and the Second Churches, especially of the First Church, contributing liberally. On Sunday afternoon, July 25, 1841, the house (of the Lord, it was hoped) was dedicated. Two weeks later, Rev. John Perry was installed as pastor. Meanwhile, Mr. George L. Lumsden, late of Virginia, entered the ministry.

Mr. Gihon succeeded Mr. Perry, Oct. 9, 1843, and continued until the spring of 1844 — at which time Rev. Martin Roberts received a letter of fellowship in our order.

The era was certainly unpropitious for any growth in either numbers or grace, by reason of a violent seething of political elements in Philadelphia; and a difficulty was then generated which finally destroyed the organization in Kensington. Not as having anything to do with the terrible scenes which followed — riots, burning, blood — but as men prominent in debate and influence, I find the names of two of our clergymen, pastor and ex-pastor of the church in Kensington.

It is not difficult to imagine the effect of the warfare upon their position and upon our common cause. The antagonism was triangular: Democrats, Whigs, and Native Americans. —

Each of these parties had representative men in most of the churches, and the old saying was repeated, "A man's foes shall be they of his own household." Could anything but religious lapse and alienation be the result of such political conflict, in the heart or even the margin of the sanctuary?

Mr. Perry withdrew from the ministry in May, 1844.* He controlled a job-printing office, and found it to be to his business advantage to mingle socially with men who sought honor or emolument in politics. To a man of his genial, impressible spirit, this was a perilous calling; and when (May 11, 1855) I closed his eyes, and when I spoke fitting words at his burial, I mourned that a man of his generous, noble nature, bringing so much of sunshine and flowers into both pulpit and parlor, should have been drawn into melancholy experience by the associations of party-political life.

From 1844 onward there were numerous preachers and pastors in the Kensington Church, including Rev. T. Fiske for fifteen months. I have collected and collated all the facts and dates, but there can be no value in rehearsing the details of the story. — In the spring of 1848 Rev. T. J. Carney was there, and so strong was "hope against hope," that he was ordained June 14, but the promise wilted in July. Under the

* Mr. Gihon withdrew from the ministry and formally resigned his fellowship in Nov., 1847.

generous labors of Rev. J. W. McMaster and Mr. Charles W. Tomlinson, and some outside money-help, the floating debt was cancelled. In 1850, the two resident pastors proffered to preach on Sunday afternoons alternately, but acceptance was linked with conditions so offensive as to debar the arrangement. And so, night coming on, the church was rented to the Presbyterians.

After awhile there were indications of awakening — whether at midnight, or at the cock-crowing, or in the morning, I must not decide; but Spiritualism offered milk and honey (and some amusement) without money and without price. Members of "the circle" were hurriedly elected into membership with "the church," securing a majority — and shortly the front pews of the middle aisle were removed — the altar, too, I believe — to allow opportunity for table-tipping and other ministries of the new gospel.

A few years afterwards there was a settling down into more sensible and sober experiences, but that temple is no longer numbered in the Universalist organization, nor is the Society in its fellowship.

THE FIRST CHURCH.

The years 1840–'44 seem to have been an era of peculiar activity and prosperity among the Universalists of Philadelphia, the First Church being certainly in the lead. Besides the items

already noticed, a publishing house was established — the work and responsibility being with Gihon, Fairchild & Co., while the people were alike the patrons and the beneficiaries. At the first meeting there was an enrolment of one hundred and thirteen persons as members of the Association, and twice as many were soon added. Each contributed an annual sum, and was entitled to books and pamphlets at the cost of publication.

This arrangement secured or promoted large editions of tracts, which were distributed with a liberal hand. A book expository of Universalism, by Rev. Mr. Moore, was issued. An edition was published in cheap, good style, of a number of Universalist books, ancient and recent.*

Additional to the work in Kensington, a preaching station was set up in a Hall at the corner of Market and (now) Seventeenth, which was opened for religious worship, Nov. 7, 1841. Services were held regularly, morning and evening — these gatherings resulting in the organization of the Fourth Universalist Society, June 3,

* Winchester's Dialogues — Petitpierre on Divine Goodness — Matt. xxiv. and xxv. by Rev. Hosea Ballou 2d — Smith on Divine Government — Relly's Union — Jeremy White on Universal Restoration — Winchester's Review of Paine — Siegvolk's Everlasting Gospel — Streeter's Familiar Conversations — Fernald's Universalism against Partialism — Opinions and Phraseology of the Jews concerning the Future State, by Rev. H. Ballou 2d.

1842. In the early part of December, the station was removed to a Hall at the corner of Thirteenth and Race — about which time, Mr. Charles S. Bailey entered the ministry with large promise.*

It was "a short millennium" of religious excitement all over the land, traceable to the theory of Mr. William Miller, affirming the burning-up of the world in 1843. He was probably as sincere as fanatics usually are, but it was both amusing and melancholy to see how he managed, by addition when it suited, by subtraction when that appeared more profitable, to work away among the "times and the half times" of Daniel, the days-for-years of Ezekiel, and the number of the beast, and the thousand years and two-and-forty months of the Apocalypse, and make every calculation end with the coming of the world to an end in 1843. He assumed, what the multitudes have always held, and what the clergy would fain have them hold, that the universe is some time to perish by fire;

* Forasmuch as many may recall him as having fallen from grace, I would fain lift his memory out of darkness. Sensible of his errors, he hid himself from a great world which he had abilities to adorn, and engaged as a teacher of a school, I believe, in Columbus, N. Y. After some time, and in an emergency, he was pressed to officiate at a funeral, which he did to great acceptance; and then he was urged to resume the ministry, statedly. He continued in this useful, humble sphere for several years, in central New York, and departed this life in Aug., 1859, leaving a good name in the acknowledgments of all who knew him.

and thus, by the ignorance of the people and the help of the pulpit, he wrought many into frenzy, and more into unbelief.*

The *Nazarene* was of great service in that era of commotion, but there was greater value in the living voice. Is it anything wonderful that our preachers and people should be unconsciously touched by the revival of religion, in a rational interpretation, or that they should be inwardly enlightened and strengthened to fight the battle of the Lord?

Besides the four places of stated worship already mentioned, there were meetings frequently on Sunday afternoon, in what is known as The Neck, and meetings for public discussion in the Southwark Commissioners' Hall on week-evenings.

Rev. Mr. Coval, a Baptist clergyman in Southwark, made, as he thought, an overwhelming assault upon Universalism. Text: "The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men who hold the truth in unrighteousness," Romans i. 18. Sound or otherwise, the review was close: Did facts warrant, the passage might possibly be pushed against Universalists on the score of their manner of life, but such an use of it would be an admission that Universalism is true. The text is not against men generally, but against

* "Analysis and Confutation of Miller's Theory," by Rev. Abel C. Thomas. Reprinted in Philadelphia, 1843.

men who hold the truth, albeit in unrighteousness. If you affirm, or try to prove, that Universalism is *not* the truth, you acknowledge that the passage has nothing to do with Universalists. Observe, too, that the judgment is not against *men*, but against the unrighteousness and ungodliness of men. It is the wrath of God revealed from heaven — that is, heavenly wrath — which insures the salvation of the sinner.

— Other divines, of greater or less repute, obeyed, presumably, their sense of duty in contending against Universalism, and sundry revivalists of unscrupulous renown, were brought (or bought) forward in the Holy War — each in turn receiving the reward that was meet, by speech or in print.

Nor was theology all that was thought of. In the winter of 1842–'43, there were efforts for the furtherance of literature and science, as auxiliaries of religious aims. A course of lectures was provided for: Three on the Varieties of the Human Race, by Dr. Henry S. Patterson — (alas that this genial son of genius, whose rare talents and acquirements were prophecies of no ordinary renown, should perish by consumption in the dawn of his powers:) Three lectures on Physiology, by Dr. D. F. Condie, whose competency as a teacher in any department of his profession no one can doubt: Three lectures on Chemistry, by Dr. Alfred L. Kennedy, whose learning and energy subdued all practical hin-

drances and made him the controlling spirit of the Polytechnic College; — and lectures on Astronomy, Geology, and Phrenology by less distinguished names, completed the course.

— I may somewhat err in the chronological order of the foregoing events. I only know that the fervor or fever of controversy gradually abated, leaving prostration in many quarters. The First Church, however, kept on the even tenor of its way, and so strong seemed the Second Church, that no one would have believed a prophetic assurance of the end.

— In the spring of 1848, after a pastorate of eight years in the First Church, Mr. Moore resigned and removed, and was succeeded in the location by Rev. Abel C. Thomas, June 1.

Confessedly the prospect was not promising. The meeting-house was in a neglected condition, not because of any lack of means or of liberality in the congregation, but because "removal uptown" had been more than talked of. The church in Kensington was fast passing into the land of dreams: That which in 1842 was consecrated as the Fourth Universalist Society had perished long ago: And the Second Church had been for some time in a torpor so profound as to justify suspicion of death. — Of these facts and their issues I have already written, and will now pass to a more hopeful memorandum.

CHURCH OF THE MESSIAH.

In the early part of 1850, a number of families in the western part of the city, or desiring a place of worship in that direction, withdrew from the First Church and organized a new church, entitled the Church of the Messiah. At first they met for public worship in a Hall in the Assembly Buildings, southwest corner of Chestnut Street and Tenth. — Meanwhile a new church was being erected on the northeast corner of Locust Street and Juniper. The session room was opened for public worship in March, 1851. The building was dedicated Nov. 19, 1851, and the same day Rev. Henry Bacon was installed as pastor.

Mr. Bacon died in March, 1856, and in July, 1857, was succeeded by Rev. I. D. Williamson, who continued until the spring of 1861. He was followed by Rev. L. L. Briggs, who resigned the pastoral charge in Sept., 1867. Since Dec. 1, 1868, Rev. E. G. Brooks, D.D., has been the pastor.

This is the order of pastorates, and these are the dates, as furnished on application. It will however be seen that the space between the retirement of one pastor and the settlement of another, is not set down. The vacancies, mostly, were filled by Rev. James Shrigley, and Dr. Brooks (who was attending to denominational work as General Secretary of the General Convention)

supplied for some time previously to his election as pastor.

It is of more importance to record, that in 1870, as a Centenary Offering, the Church of the Messiah extinguished its entire indebtedness of about thirteen thousand dollars.

— This joyful event was followed if not celebrated in January and February, 1871, by the issue of a pamphlet of forty-eight large octavo pages, by the pastor, consisting of "Three Sermons suggested by the Death of Rev. Albert Barnes." The first was in memory of his ability and personal worth: The second rested on his avowal of the horrors of his creed: The third was in confirmation of his argument for Universalism in his introduction to Butler's Analogy. If the evangelical eye and ear were open to such illustrations as these, there would be more light and more comfort in the truly evangelical heart.

— Nov. 10, 1850, Rev. John Hughes, Roman Catholic Archbishop of N. York, delivered and published a lecture on the "Decline of Protestantism, and its Cause" — to which Rev. Joseph F. Berg, D. D., replied by speech and in print, in the close of the same month. As a third party, I reviewed them both, in a pamphlet entitled The Triangle. Mr. Berg rejoined in what he termed "The Trapezium" — which was answered by a "Dissection" of the uncouth symbol of his argument, — and this ended the controversy.

Mr. Hughes and Mr. Berg agreed in affirming that God has appointed an authoritative tribunal on earth, as a guide in matters of religious faith — but Mr. Hughes affirmed, and Mr. Berg denied, that the Roman Catholic Church is that divinely-appointed tribunal and guide.— The first of these positions seems to have been seldom denied in the Roman Catholic controversy. Whenever touched by Protestants, it has been with a trembling hand — the main effort having been to pull down and destroy the second — whereas the root of the whole matter is in the first position. While *that* is admitted in any shape, there is little more than beating the air by the opponents of Roman Catholicism. Once grant that there *is* an authoritative church somewhere, and the advantage is obviously with the Church of Antiquity.

Mr. Berg, having admitted a church of authority, and denying the claim of his opponent, was under obligation to declare what and where that church of authority *is*. He could not find rest in Luther — nor in others; and so, after much waste of words, he asserted that "Paul was the first Protestant," and that the Church of Authority which he was in search of, was "the ideal church, the Holy Catholic Church, comprising all the mystical members of our Lord Jesus Christ!"

It was pitiful to see this really learned man floundering in the ditch he had digged. One

single blow of the Protestant axe cuts the tap-root of the Papacy: There *is* no church of authority anywhere!

—In January, 1851, O. A. Brownson, Esq., delivered four lectures on Roman Catholicism and Civilization — which I reviewed by speech and in print. Mr. Brownson, insisting on a Church of Authority, as the chief element in Civilization, adopted the ground of Mr. Hughes, that nothing "can be more natural or rational than to submit our reason to the teaching and guidance that God himself has appointed" — that is, provided we once admit the fact and the where of such a church.

It would nevertheless seem that everything rests at last upon an individual fallible judgment. *Why* do you believe, or how do you know this or that? The church tells me so. — How do you know that the church has told you the truth? The church is infallible. — And when the rottenness is further probed, How do you know that the church is infallible? — there is a bottomless chasm. We can well understand how the man could cross the gulf, from shifting sand to solid ground, if only we knew how he is to get on to the bridge!

—In the process of civilizing savage or barbarous hordes, the claim is asserted of a divinely appointed authority. Let that be conceded, and the work is fairly begun, continued and ended. The principle was the same with the Pagan Incas

of Peru; and I have been amazed to see how closely Roman Catholicism and Mohammedanism coincide in their elements. The analogy is complete. In the divinity of asserted authority — in denial of the right of private judgment — in the devotion of the people to priestly rule — in the consequent difficulty of change — in the restraints of a religion of ritual — in the subjection of the State to the Church, — all these mark the claims of Roman Catholicism as an agent of civilization — and in these respects it has no pre-eminence over Mohammedanism. —

In June, 1852, Mr. Thomas and his family sailed for Europe, returning in Sept., 1853. During his absence the church was served by Rev. G. Collins. For several years subsequently the latter was a book-seller and publisher in Philadelphia — then Chaplain in the Army of the Republic. He is now a Chaplain in the regular Army of the United States, and is stationed in Kansas.

Freshened by travel, the pastor returned to his duties with a new lease of life; but as he approaches the close of this History, he finds little to record beyond the routine of a city pastor.

— That our work in Philadelphia was not wholly of the controversial order might safely be presumed, yet there were plans for growth in grace and in knowledge among our people, outside the range of preacher-and-parish duties, and also distinct from missionary endeavor.

The idea was not novel. It called for devout laymen to occupy the position of Lay Readers, with the aid of a Liturgy and a succession of original sermons. The plan commended itself to general favor, and the General Convention appointed a committee to carry it into effect. The work devolved upon the Chairman, and is herein mentioned because of his residence in Philadelphia.*

After six years' use of the Gospel Liturgy in the Church, I am persuaded that a form of worship in which the people have vocal part is of much greater value than the offices of a proxy-priest.

— During this endeavor for the furtherance of Universalism, there was a remarkable effort for the furtherance of "evangelical religion" by men distinguished in the churches for both piety and liberality. It was a scheme for accumulating an immense "Sabbath School Charity Fund," reckoning indeed by millions. As one of the inducements to contribute, a certificate was printed, with the title "American Systematic Beneficent Society, auxiliary to every benevo-

* *The Gospel Liturgy:* A Prayer-Book for Churches, Congregations and Families. Prepared by direction of the General Convention of Universalists. Philadelphia, 1857.

The Christian Helper; or Gospel Sermons for Congregations and Families. Issued by direction, &c. Phil., 1857. The sermons, twenty-six in number, were by different preachers. A second and third volume were published in Boston, in other editorial charge.

lent institution in the land," this certificate being the issue of a "One hundred per cent. stock," in shares — the whole being printed in the forms of a regular business transaction. And this was the persuasive:

"Stockholders are guaranteed to receive one hundred times as much as they put in, Matt. xix. 29. Those who continue to pay into the Fund as much as six cents a week, for three years in succession, to be Life Members of the American Systematic Beneficent Society. Those who do this for six years to be Honorary Managers for Life. Those who do this for ten years to be Honorary Vice-Presidents for Life. Those who do this (from love to Christ) while they live, will have a free admission, through the gates, into the Heavenly City, a snow-white Robe, a heavenly Harp, a crown of gold, and a seat at the right hand of the final Judge."

This certificate (with a blank for the name of the investing possessor,) was avouched by M. W. Baldwin, President, George H. Stuart, Vice-President, W. J. R. Taylor, Recording Secretary, John Gulliver, Corresponding Secretary, Thomas Cooper, Treasurer — all being men of renown.

Having obtained a copy by the courtesy of a friend, I called upon the authorities for additional copies, and learned that the scheme had been withdrawn! It had been misinterpreted — provoked strife — some of the officers denied having authorized the insertion of their signatures, &c.

The truth is, the good sense of the community endorsed the Universalist objection, that all

this was an appeal to a low order of motive. It was an attempt to train children into beneficence by selfish and sensual thoughts. The inducement, with all its materialism, was suitable for gross men, or for men in their earliest religious experience, (for example, the disciples, while yet they construed Christ's kingdom in a visible sense,) but a loftier and better persuasive is in the dignity and beauty of a truly religious life, apart from considerations of loss or gain. — The withdrawal of "the stock" was an acknowledgment of the principles of Universalism, as the final educator of both children and men. — Surely, purity of life and peace of mind, are of an hundred fold more value than all outward compensations.

There was some controversy afterwards among the saints, and I confess that my sympathies were with Mr. Gulliver, the alleged offender. The last I saw concerning the matter, was an article from his pen in a Camden paper, in which he submitted that his brethren believed everything guaranteed in the certificate, and only a desire to evade criticism had pushed them into disavowal.

— In the spring of 1863, Mr. Thomas resigned as pastor of the First Church, a position which, from first to last, he had occupied for nearly twenty-five years — intending this resignation to be a retirement from pastoral life, — and Rev. R. Eddy was his successor. Mr. Eddy,

well known to the people, had relinquished his chaplaincy in the Army, and most heartily I welcomed him to my old home.—In 1865 he was elected Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania—thus doing double duty. In 1868 he resigned, and was succeeded by Rev. James Shrigley, as Librarian.

From the spring of 1868 to the spring of 1869, one year was devoted to transformation of the church edifice; and in April, 1869, Rev. Henry C. Leonard was elected pastor. He resigned at the end of two years, April, 1871. From that date unto the present, April, 1872, the pulpit has been supplied by Mr. Shrigley, Mr. Thomas, and others—but mostly the meetings have been in charge of competent laymen.

—I cannot cease from this narrative without recording a remarkable example of religious fidelity. I refer to a brother who for fifty-four years has been a leading member of the choir of the First Church. In summer and winter, in heat and cold, in the adversities no less than in the prosperities of the society, he has unremittingly stood in his volunteer lot; and I am sure that believers everywhere will endorse this grateful encomium of Edward Simmons.

CHAPTER VI.

Sunday Schools in Philadelphia — Pamela Marsh — Philadelphia Hymn Books — Silas Ballou — Philadelphia Periodicals — D. Francis Condie, M. D. — Philadelphia Union Association — Pennsylvania State Convention — Recommendations of 1790 — Ceremonials — Rev. John Samuel Thompson — Good Helpers — Franklin — Dr. Benj. Rush — Dr. William Shippen — Thomas Say — Dr. Joseph Priestly — Christopher Marshall — Thomas Dobson—James P. Espy — The Tunkers — Banger and Campbell.

WHILE writing these pages, and during the preliminary researches, my attention was drawn to several facts and incidents which, though they belonged to the tenor of the narrative, would be in better place in a separate chapter.

SUNDAY SCHOOLS IN PHILADELPHIA.

In June, 1812, Mr. Richards adopted a system of catechizing children in the church. On the first occasion eight boys and eight girls were thus instructed, and an increase of the number is recorded for July — after which I find no memoranda respecting this endeavor.

Two manuscript books in my possession show that a Sunday School of both a religious and secular character, was organized in the Lombard St. Church, the Female Department, Oct.

15, 1816,* and the Male Department, Dec. 27 of the same year. The preliminary order of the first of these is as follows:

The ladies favorable to the establishment of a Sunday School for Female Children at the Universalist Church, having assembled at said Church, the meeting was opened in prayer by the Rev. Ebenezer Lester.

The preamble to the Articles of Association adopted on the occasion, is in these words:

We the undersigned, being desirous to glorify our heavenly Father by becoming useful to our fellow-creatures, have agreed to unite under the name of the Universalist Female Sunday School Society, for the religious and moral instruction of children. And believing the neighborhood of the Universalist Church a proper place and opening for such an undertaking, will commence teaching so soon as a fund can be obtained adequate to the tuition of fifty children.

The usual officers were specified and their duties defined — membership established at two dollars per annum — officers elected, committees appointed — and Mr. Lester closed the meeting with prayer. Membership immediately rose to thirty-two, but "the funds are low and the scholars in want of clothes." Sixty-four dollars would not go far. Sixty-seven was added, and

* About 1740, forty years before the present general system of Sunday School instruction was introduced by Robert Raikes, Ludwig Hœcker established a Sunday School which was maintained for upward of thirty years." Appleton's Cycl., Dunkers — Ephrata, Lancaster County, Pa.

very shortly eighty-one more — and then eighty-nine. Still the funds were low, for shoes and many other articles besides books and tracts were needed. And thus matters went on from year to year.

The history of the Male Department was substantially the same. Thirty-eight dollars for membership — sixty dollars for membership — eighteen dollars for membership — but books required cash — and double-soled shoes were a dollar a pair. Mr. Ralston, president of the Bible Society, donated two dozen Bibles and two dozen Testaments. Thanks. Yet the funds were still low, and it was

Resolved, That the School shall not consist of more than fifty scholars in future.

An aggregate of one hundred scholars, and the necessity for limitation to that number,— surely it is lawful to honor the earnest women and men of that early day of Sunday Schools.

It will be observed, in regard to this organization in its beginning, that it was intended chiefly for the children of the poor, who had no other opportunity for instruction. These were sought in the dark lanes and alleys of the city :

"The tutors shall instruct the children in reading, and in committing to memory passages of Holy Writ. They shall enjoin their frequent attendance at church, and endeavor to lead them in the path of virtue by pointing out the happiness attending it, and the fatal effects and misery of vice."

Clothing was furnished with no stinted hand, and encouragement given by premiums and otherwise, to attract the wanderers and outcasts within the range of wholesome influence. How simple and beautiful is this early memorandum:

"Appointed Miss Rebecca Burden and Miss Ann Forrester to procure pupils, and Mrs. Margaret Silver and Mrs. Jane Burden to procure subscribers. The meeting was concluded with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Lester."

The Sunday Schools of later years consist, generally, of the children of families connected with churches and congregations of worshippers, and the instruction is wholly of a religious character.

In 1821 a new secretary was appointed, the records remaining in the hands of her predecessor. The new book was mislaid and lost, and here there is a breach in the minutes: Yet I have learned from a lady (now 71) who was for several years a teacher in the Lombard Street Sunday School, that it was still in being in the autumn of 1825. Probably it faded away and was discontinued during the embarrassments succeeding the administration of Mr. Kneeland.

Dating Jan. 1, 1834, I find an announcement of the organization of a Sunday School in the Lombard St. Church. Whether this, under the circumstances, should be considered a revival or a new creation, is a question for the reader to

decide. The last relics of the original order, a lot of slates upon which the children had learned to write, were presented to Dr. Timothy Clowes for his pupils in December, 1842.*

— May 21, 1833, a Sunday School was organized in connection with the Second Church. It has continued until this day, though sometimes interrupted or suspended in seasons of congregational adversity. — Nov. 2, 1851, a Sunday School was organized in connection with the Church of the Messiah. — These three Sunday Schools are banded in a prosperous Association.

— *Miss Pamela Marsh.* Born in utter poverty and obscurity — working as a sempstress until her hands were crippled with rheumatism — restricting herself to the necessaries of life so that she might be of service to the world after her departure — this lone woman, without kith or kin, contributed $1000 to refitting the Lombard St. Church in 1850, (reserving only an annuity equal to the interest,) and by will, after a few small bequests, left the residue of her estate, about $2100, in trust for the support of the Sunday School connected with the church of her love, only the income to be expended

* Dr. Clowes, a distinguished Linguist and profound Mathematician, had been elected Principal of the S. E. Grammar School, and was notified accordingly. The Directors however recalled the notification on learning that he was a Universalist, and he then established a private school. Sober second thought resulted in placing him in charge of another of the Public Schools.

forever. She died July 21, 1857, in the sixty-fourth year of her age, and was buried in the Mutual Family Burial Ground.

What member or friend of the First Church will increase the Pamela Marsh Fund? — What brother or sister of the Second Church will make generous bequest to the Sunday School? What liberal soul in the Church of the Messiah will Go and do likewise?

PHILADELPHIA HYMN BOOKS.

Christian Hymns, Poems, and Spiritual Songs, sacred to the praise of God our Saviour. By James and John Relly. Burlington, N. J. Re-printed by Isaac Collins, 1776. I record this as a Philadelphia publication, because of the proximity of Burlington.

Evangelical Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs: Selected from various authors, and published by a Committee of the Convention of the churches believing in the Restitution of All Men, met in Philadelphia, May 25, 1791. Philadelphia, printed by Thomas Dobson, 1792.

The Philadelphia Hymn Book, or, A Selection of Sacred Poetry, consisting of Psalms and Hymns, compiled by Abner Kneeland. Philadelphia, 1819.

Hymns of Zion, with Appropriate Music. By Abel C. Thomas. Philadelphia, 1839.

Hymns of Devotion, appended to the Gospel Liturgy, 1857. Compiled by Abel C. Thomas.

— The Hymn Book, second in the list, contains hymns by James Relly, John Relly, John Murray, and others, and fifteen hymns are "From Elhanan Winchester's Collection" — of course ante-dating 1792.

Eight years before his conversion to Universalism, was published "A New Book of Poems on Several Occasions. By Elhanan Winchester Junior, Preacher of the Gospel, and Author of the Collection of Psalms, Hymns and Poems, designed for the use and edification of Christians. Boston, 1773" — octavo pp. 72. Was the Collection here acknowledged the Collection credited in the Convention Hymn Book aforesaid?

— "A Collection of Hymns, designed for the use of the Universal Churches, collected by Brother George Richards," is not here included in the list of Philadelphia Hymn Books, because, though used in Philadelphia during the administration of Richards and until the compilation by Kneeland, it was printed and published in New England.

Silas Ballou. In the Convention Hymn Book of 1792, there are thirty-five hymns by Silas Ballou. He was a distant relative of Rev. Hosea Ballou, and resided in Richmond, N. H. He seems to have been the poet or rhymer of that region, and many of his pieces worthily found their way into the hymn books of our denomination. The following are the best in the list of thirty-five above alluded to. The saints, it is to be hoped, had less difficulty in singing the stanzas than opposers had in answering the argument.

The only cure for slavish grief
  Is faith in God's eternal Son;
The only ground for our belief
  Is what the mighty God has done.

If he hath *not* redeemed all,
  Then those for whom he did not die,
If they believe on him at all,
  They surely will believe a lie.

If there be some he never freed,
And they indeed believe the same,
Then they believe the truth indeed,
And now wherein are they to blame?

If Jesus died but for a part,—
If those for whom he shed his blood,
Believe the same with all their heart,
Their faith is solid, true and good.

If God did reprobate a part,
I boldly testify to you,
If they believe it in their heart,
Their faith is good because 't is true.

If this be true, I ask of you,
And for an answer here I wait:
Which party hath the truest faith,
The chosen or the reprobate?

Did not salvation stand by grace,
O what a raging boast,
Would rise among the human race,
In which had done the most!

Each calls himself the most complete,
Most holy and the best,
And fights like heroes for the seat
That gave the sweetest rest.

And thus the strongest man would get
The best and noblest seat,
And all the feebler souls must sit
Beneath the noble's feet.

Supposing this to be the case,
Debates would never cease,
And heaven would be a jangling place,
And not a place of peace.

But O ! by grace salvation stands,
Through God the Holy Ghost,
And not by works of mortal hands,
Lest any man should boast.

Alas ! why should I be
So vain as to condemn
The vilest sinners that I see,
Since I am one of *them !*

This is a faithful word,
Worthy of our belief,
"For sinners died the blessed Lord,
Of whom I now am chief."

Could every creature see
Himself the chiefest, then
There would not be one Pharisee
Among the sons of men.

PHILADELPHIA PERIODICALS.

The Christian Messenger, a quarto religious magazine, of four pages weekly, commenced August, 1819, by liberal men of the orthodox type, after a few weeks of feeble subscription passed into the hands of men still more liberal, and Mr. Kneeland became the editor. The second year closed with July, 1821.

In August, 1821, began the *Philadelphia Universalist Magazine and Christian Messenger*, a monthly publication of 32 large 8vo. pages, Mr. Kneeland being the editor. This was continued for two years, ending July, 1823.

In January, 1824, was commenced *The Gazetteer*, a quarto weekly of eight pages, devoted to News (mostly transferred in type from some other paper) as

well as Universalism, edited by Mr. Kneeland. It closed with December, 1824.

The Universalist, octavo, 16 pages, semi-monthly, was commenced in Utica, N. Y., and edited by sundry brethren. At the close of the first half year, October, 1825, it was transferred to Rev. S. R. Smith, who completed the volume in Philadelphia.

The Herald of Salvation, new series, large octavo, double columns, eight pages, semi-monthly. Commenced April, 1826, closed April, 1827. Edited by Rev. S. R. Smith and Rev. Pitt Morse.

Philadelphia Liberalist, medium sheet, folio, weekly, was commenced in June, 1832, and continued for three years by Rev. Zelotes Fuller — largely devoted to literature and news, yet strongly Universalist.

The Nazarene, weekly, devoted to Universalism, edited by Rev. S. W. Fuller, and after his death by Rev. Asher Moore, T. D. Cook, John H. Gihon and John Perry. Commenced Jan. 1, 1840. Years 1840 and 1841 were in folio — 1842 and 1843 in quarto. At the close of volume iv., the list was transferred to Boston, and merged in *The Trumpet*.

Pennsylvania Universalist, quarto, fortnightly — commenced in 1849 — afterwards the Family Journal. The list was transferred to the N. Y. Ambassador in Oct., 1851.

— *New York Christian Messenger*, with the second title, *Philadelphia Universalist*, edited by Philo Price, Rev. Thomas J. Sawyer and Abel C. Thomas, had a Philadelphia Department and was for some time delivered in this city by a carrier, but as it was never printed in Philadelphia and much the larger part of its circulation was elsewhere, I do not include it in the list of Philadelphia periodicals.— The same is true of the Universalist Union, beginning Nov. 14, 1835, formed by

union of the foregoing with the Religious Inquirer and Gospel Anchor — Rev. I. D. Williamson and R. O. Williams being added to the editorial corps.

D. Francis Condie, M.D. The literary section of the History of Universalism in Philadelphia, would be incomplete without mention of the educated and generous help of Dr. Condie, in a day when help was more needed than it is now. During the years of the first three periodicals before named, his strong pen was constantly busy in reviews and other articles relating to the Gospel Word. To this should be added that, besides being of a thoroughly Universalist stock by birth and training, he has ever been an outspoken Universalist in the literary and scientific circles of Philadelphia, in which (especially in the medical line) he has borne a distinguished part as an author and an authority. Now retired from the activities of a great city, he is enjoying the serenity of both a green and a ripe old age, at his rural mansion near Morton Station, Delaware County, Pennsylvania. He is the senior member of the Lombard St. Church, his membership dating Sept. 13, 1819.

Phonotypy. Not as belonging to this history, but as one of the Curiosities of Literature, I make memorandum of Mr. Kneeland's system of Phonotypy. "After twenty years of occasional study, and as many months of close application to labor," he issued "The American Pro-

nouncing Spelling Book," 1824. The system "differs so much from every other, that it may be considered an invention as well as an improvement." No history of Phonotypy would be complete without honorable mention of this ingenious production, nor without giving large credit to a pamphlet entitled "The Columbian Alphabet," by James Ewing, Trenton, 1798.

PHILADELPHIA UNION ASSOCIATION.

May 6, 1829, in New York city was organized the New York and Philadelphia Association. Sept. 2, 1829, the Association met in Philadelphia. Letters of Fellowship were granted to Bros. A. B. Grosh and William Hutchinson. Present: Revs. Stephen R. Smith, John Freeman, A. B. Grosh, A. C. Thomas, Zelotes Fuller, T. Fiske, Jacob Myers. The last-named was ordained. Sermon by Mr. Smith. Dec. 14, 1829, the Association met in New Brunswick, N. J., Rev. C. F. Le Fevre, late of the Episcopal Church, being present for the first time as a member of the Universalist organization.

From this date the ecclesiastical connection with New York was dissolved, as being inconvenient — and thenceforth there was a New York Association and a Philadelphia Association. The latter has been little more than a missionary institute, meeting usually in places where Universalism was little known. To further the same end, in Oct., 1834, the Union Associa-

tion was organized, having Reading as its centre of operations. — Being convinced by the experience of several years, that one institute of the sort was sufficient for south-eastern Pennsylvania, in 1850 these two Associations were joined as the "Philadelphia Union Association." The annual sessions have been held regularly, seldom, however, in Philadelphia. Little business of denominational importance has been transacted, the chief value being in social and missionary aims.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE CONVENTION.

To band together the widely-separated Associations and churches of Pennsylvania, the State Convention was organized in Columbia on the Susquehanna, in May, 1832. Much the larger number of our Societies is in the northern range of counties, the inhabitants being largely of New England origin. In the north-western counties, and latterly in the western, it has been shown, also, that "the Lord has much people" — reckoning Erie and Pittsburg as centres. Once a year, now here, now there, we get together by delegates from our several Associations, and find the arrangement both agreeable and profitable, but of little governmental value. For which reason I do not include it in the History of Universalism in Philadelphia, albeit Philadelphia has had its share of the annual sessions. — Reading has had more than its share.

Rev. John Samuel Thompson, a convert from the Methodists, whose Universalist history belongs to the central section of the State of New York, was from Scotland, and if his learning equalled his pretensions, he was entitled to higher honors than he claimed. He was the author of three discourses on "Unitarianism the Religion of Jesus, or Critical Lectures on the Unity of God and the Salvation of All Men." They were delivered in the Commissioners' Hall, Northern Liberties, and afterwards published, 60 pages, 12mo., 1823. The author heralds himself on the title-page as being "A.M. of the Universities of Glasgow, St. Andrew's and Edinburgh;" and in the preface modestly informs the world what great things might be expected of him:

"He has studied with the ancients, improved with the moderns, criticized with impartiality. . . . Uninfluenced by names, sects or sounds, unrestrained by fear or self-interest, assisted by a very liberal education, the conversation of the learned, and the libraries of the enlightened opulent," &c., &c.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Adopted by the Philadelphia Convention of Universalists, in 1790.

Of War. Although a defensive War may be considered lawful, yet we believe there is a time coming, when the light and universal love of the Gospel shall put an end to all wars. We recommend therefore to all the churches in our communion, to cultivate the spirit of peace and brotherly

love, which shall lead them to consider all mankind as brethren, and to strive to spread among them the knowledge of their common Saviour and Redeemer, who came into the world "not to destroy men's lives, but to save them."

Of Going to Law. We hold it unbecoming for Christians, who are members of the same Church, to appeal to courts of law for the settlement of disputes. Such appeals too often engender malice, beget idleness, and produce a waste of property. They are therefore contrary to the spirit of the Gospel. In disputes of all kinds, and with all persons, we recommend appeals to arbitrators appointed by both parties, where it is practicable, in preference to courts of law.

Of holding Slaves. We believe it to be inconsistent with the Union of the human race in a common Saviour, and the obligations to mutual and impartial love which flow from that Union, to hold any part of our fellow-creatures in bondage. We therefore recommend a total refraining from the African trade, and the adoption of prudent measures for the gradual abolition of the slavery of the negroes in our country, and for the instruction and education of their children in English literature, and in the principles of the Gospel.

Of Oaths. We recommend it to all the members of our Churches to enquire whether oaths do not lessen the frequency of truth in common life — whether they do not increase profane swearing — whether they are not contrary to the commands of our Saviour, and the apostle James: And lastly, whether they do not lessen the dignity of the Chris-

tian name, by obliging professors of Christianity to yield to a suspicion of being capable of declaring a falsehood. And as we are indulged by the laws of all our States, with the privilege of giving testimony by simple affirmation, we submit it to the conscience of our members, whether that mode of declaring the truth should not be preferred to any other.

Of Submission to Government. We recommend to all the members of our Churches a peaceable submission to the higher powers, not for wrath, but for conscience sake, &c. We enjoin, in a particular manner, a regard to truth and justice in the payment of such duties or taxes as shall be required by our rulers, for the maintenance of order and the support of government.

— *The Plan of Church Government* adopted by the Philadelphia Convention of 1790 was *congregational*, and contains nothing peculiar or specially interesting, excepting the following. Consider the organization of that Council, and acknowledge the wisdom and charity of this declaration:

"Whereas a great diversity of opinion has prevailed in all ages of the Church upon the subject of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, as also upon the subjects of Confirmation, the washing of feet, love-feasts, and anointing the sick with oil, &c.; and as this diversity of opinion has often been the means of dividing Christians, who were united by the same spirit in more essential articles, we agree to admit all such persons who hold the articles of our faith and maintain good works, into membership, whatever their opinions may be as to the nature, form, or obligations of any or all of the above-named Ordi-

nances. If it shall so happen that an application shall be made to a Minister to perform any of the said ordinances, who does not believe in the present obligations of Christians to submit to them; or if he shall be applied to to perform them at *a time* or in *a way* that is contrary to his conscience, in such a case a neighboring Minister who shall hold like principles respecting the ordinance or ordinances required by any member, shall be invited to perform them; or if it be thought more expedient, each Church may appoint or ordain one of its own members to administer the ordinances in such way as to each Church may seem proper."

GOOD HELPERS.

In the course of this narrative I have mentioned many of the saints, and may now adopt the plea of an apostle: And what shall I more say? for the time would fail me to tell of all,—even of those standing in the list of my personal knowledge and memory. To make a closer selection than I have done, would seem to be invidious, and so I will devoutly call upon expressive silence to muse their praise.

It is however my desire to name a few distinguished men *outside* of our visible communion, whose work and word entitle them to be classed as Good Helpers.

If the scoffer, in reading these sketches, shall think to overwhelm my purpose by the proffer of a thousand names on the other side to one on this, I have only to reply that it is an easy thing

for distinguished men to register their names in favor of popular sentiment, but it requires the courage of true manliness openly to avow an unpopular thought. Even where hypocrisy is not chargeable, only a few names, in any age, have not defiled their garments; and these shall walk in white, for they are worthy.

Dr. Benjamin Franklin cared nothing for the dogmas of any sect, and was rather a moralist than a religionist, yet his letter to Rev. George Whitefield, dated Philadelphia, June 6, 1743, runs so perfectly in the channel of Universalism, that I make the following extract:

"He who, for giving a draught of water to a thirsty person, should expect a plantation, would be modest in his demands, compared with those who think they deserve heaven for the little good they do on earth. Even the mixed, imperfect pleasures we enjoy in this world, are rather from God's goodness than from our merit: How much more such happiness of heaven! For my part, I have not the vanity to think I deserve it, nor the ambition to desire it; but content myself in submitting to the will of that God who made me, who has hitherto preserved and blessed me, and in whose fatherly goodness I may well confide that he will never make me miserable; and that even the affliction I may at any time suffer, shall tend to my benefit."

Dr. Benjamin Rush was a friend and correspondent of Elhanan Winchester. In a letter dated Philadelphia, May 11, 1791, addressed to the latter while in London, he commends certain interpretations of the prophecies, (which have proved of small value) and adds,

"The universal doctrine prevails more and more in our country, particularly among persons eminent for their piety, in whom it is not a mere speculation but a new principle of action in the heart, prompting to practical godliness."

And in a letter of Nov. 12, 1791, referring to John Wesley, he writes thus:

"I admire and honor that great man above any man that has lived since the time of the apostles. His writings will erelong revive in support of *our doctrine* — for if Christ died for all, as Mr. Wesley always taught, it will soon appear a necessary consequence that all shall be saved. . . . At present we wish liberty to the whole world: The next touch of the celestial magnet upon the human heart will direct it into wishes for the salvation of all mankind."

Dr. William Shippen, born 1736, died 1808, a highly distinguished Demonstrator of Anatomy, a contemporary of Dr. Benjamin Rush, was also a Universalist. His biographer, Dr. Caspar Wistar, another of the great lights of Medical and Surgical Science, speaking of the closing career of Doctor Shippen, says,

"The only studies to which he applied himself, were of a religious nature. He was educated in the doctrines of the Presbyterian Church, but he now read and thought much upon the subject of Universal Restoration, and finally adopted that belief with great confidence."*

Is it possible that this religious fact, stated in the presence of the medical-fellowship of that

*Eulogium delivered before the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, March, 1809. Published 1818.

day, by one of the most renowned of their number, fell like a dead seed to the ground?

Thomas Say, born 1709, died 1796, was influential by the possession of large wealth and generous use of it. He and de Benneville were intimate friends. At the burial of the latter, aged ninety, (so runs the tradition,) the former, aged eighty-four, knelt on the fresh earth and poured forth a strain of prayer that touched all hearts by its memories and simplicity. Both these religious men assigned supernatural visions as the means of their conversion to Universalism. A Memoir of Say is in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. I have a copy of the Life of de Benneville in manuscript, translated in 1830.

Dr. Joseph Priestly delivered a series of discourses on Revealed Religion, in the Lombard St. Church, in 1796. In the last of the series, he spoke of "the great plan of providence, respecting the designs of God in the creation of man, and his final destination." By familiar acquaintance with the Scriptures, you will have

"A clearer view of the divine wisdom and goodness in the government of the world, even in the most calamitous events. . . . You will perceive signs of order in the present seemingly disordered state of things, and will rejoice in prospect of the glorious completion of the scheme, in universal virtue and universal happiness. . . . Such views will inspire a most delightful serenity in the midst of the cares and trouble of life, and impart a joy which the world can neither give nor take away."

— In a sermon, particularly explanatory of his theological tenets, also delivered in the Lombard St. Church in 1796, and published, he said,

"I take the liberty to express my concurrence with the minister and the congregation worshipping here, in their opinion concerning the final happiness of all the human race — a doctrine eminently calculated to promote alike gratitude to God, and consequently every other virtue; and since this doctrine is perfectly consistent with the belief of the adequate punishment of sin, it is far from giving any encouragement to sinners."

His son, in giving an account of the closing scene, says,

"He desired me to reach him a pamphlet which was at his bed's head, Simpson on the Duration of Future Punishment. 'It will be a source of satisfaction to you to read that pamphlet,' said he, giving it to me. 'It contains my sentiments, and a belief in them will be a support to you in the most trying circumstances, as it has been to me. We shall all meet finally: we only require different degrees of discipline, suited to our different tempers, to prepare us for final happiness.'"*

Is it susceptible of proof, or is it merely a speculation, that such great names as these will be deemed worthy of special honor, in the day when the secrets of all hearts are unveiled? — not because of their conviction regarding a merciful God, but because of their open acknowledgment of it now. — And is it probable that the crown of life will be withheld from humbler names, such as the following?

* 1 Revealed Religion. 2 Unitarianism explained and defended. 3 Memoirs, page 217.

Christopher Marshall, born 1709, died 1797, was a member of the Society of Friends, of the order, I should judge, of Free Quakers, for he held that defensive war is justifiable. This position, together with his social respectability, brought him into intimate and confidential relations with leading members of Congress, during the Revolution. He was decidedly a Universalist, as shown by his regard for books in advocacy of universal restitution, especially the two volumes by Sir George Stonehouse — and more particularly by his Will. The first item of this is an avowal of his Universalism, set forth in many words, on the strictly "evangelical basis." In the midst of all the jargon and clangor of mystical creeds, he heard the subduing strain of infinite love, and found solution of the problem of evil in the final restoration of all.

Christopher Marshall was one of the Trustees (or agents) of the Free Universal Magazine — also a subscriber and a liberal correspondent. One of his articles reached 26 pages, in strong advocacy of Universalism.

Thomas Dobson. The Convention Hymn Book of 1792, the second edition of Winchester's Dialogues, 1793, and several other Universalist publications of earlier and later date than these, bear the imprint of Thomas Dobson, "at the stone house, 41 South Second Street." He was a bookseller and stationer, and for some time ministered to a few individuals in Carpen-

ter's Hall, south of Chestnut between Third and Fourth. He was a Universalist, though not in formal connection with Universalists, and especially avowed his faith in the second volume of "Letters on the Deity," 1804. Letters xvi and xvii, comprising nearly fifty pages, are devoted to this theme. He was also a contributor to the Philadelphia Universalist Magazine, Sept. 16, 1822, in the same line of thought. He died in March, 1823, aged 73. Is it not singular that the Magazine referred to did not contain one line in reference to the life and decease of this truly exemplary man?

James P. Espy, born in 1786, died in 1860, aged nearly seventy-four, twenty years of which he devoted to the Classical Department of the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia. Meanwhile he evolved and perfected *The Philosophy of Storms*, published in 1841, a work which places him very high in the roll of scientific men. He was appointed a corresponding member of the Smithsonian Institute, and in the specialty of Meteorology he was absorbed until the close of his life.

In this place I am more particularly interested in him as a religious moral philosopher. In private character pure and elevated, he held firmly to Universalism as a rational, practical faith, and discarded every hypothesis of vengeance. The doctrine of endless torment was his utter detestation. "To punish the trans-

gressor with infinite and eternal punishment for transgression, . . . would indicate rather an infinite love of punishment, than an infinite hatred of sin."

This seems to be the key-note of his posthumous work on Accountability and Punishment; and if any persons shall doubt the sweet influence of his thought on his manner of life, let them read the following:

"In the beginning of this, my last will and testament, I wish to express my most profound reverence for the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, and my unwavering belief that everything which I have experienced during my whole life (as well the painful as the pleasant) has been so arranged by his infinite goodness and wisdom, as to result in good to me, by educating me to a higher state of knowledge, and to a more intense love of goodness, and so to prepare me for an eternity of happiness after death. If it is better for me to exist happy after death, I shall so exist, as certainly as there is a God of infinite goodness, wisdom, and power; and if it is better for me to suffer some pain hereafter for the sake of further improvement, I doubt not that an infinitely wise and good Father has arranged that I shall so suffer.

"Heavenly Father, with unwavering confidence in Thy love, I commit myself and the whole human family, Thy children, to Thy holy keeping."

Pastors deceased. An Appendix.

Rev. Ebenezer Lester, who entered the ministry in Connecticut at an advanced age, preached in central New York in 1814, and was pastor in Philadelphia for one year. His name is in the minutes of the Sunday School in Oct., 1816. He returned

to Connecticut shortly after, where he died in peace with all the world.

Rev. Stephen R. Smith's pastoral settlements, after leaving Philadelphia in 1828, were Clinton, Albany and Buffalo. For many years, and through many difficulties, he persistently pressed the claims of education, and Clinton Institute was, in a large measure, the result of his energy. He died Feb. 17, 1850, in the sixty-first year of his age.

Rev. Pitt Morse was one of the most influential clergymen in northern New York. In the later years of his life he was specially interested in schools of a high grade. He died in Watertown, March 19, 1860, aged sixty-four.

Rev. Henry Bacon was a man of singular industry. There seemed to be no limit to his literary labor, and he exhibited equal zeal in the pastoral relation in all its departments. His absorbing theme was the importance and value of Universalism in the conduct of life. He died in Philadelphia, March 19, 1856, in the forty-third year of his age.

Rev. J. T. Goodrich is believed to have perished in the great fire in Chicago, in Oct., 1871, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. He devoted an aggregate of twenty-two years to pastoral ministry; and five years of diligent financial agency in behalf of St. Lawrence University and Canton Theological School, honorably associates him with the foster-fathers of those institutions.

The Tunkers, among whom Mr. Banger found a religious home on his withdrawal from the church in Lombard Street, have a meeting-

house in Crown Street, and another in Germantown. For a long series of years the congregations were served by Peter Keyser, James Lynd and Timothy Banger. — Appleton's Cyclopædia reckons this sect of Baptists at 8000, and adds, "they believe in general redemption, though it is with them not an article of faith; but they deny that they are Universalists." I doubt, however, whether they would deny being Restorationists. With *us*, the words are synonymous.

Alexander Campbell, of controversial celebrity, being out of favor with the regular Baptists, greatly desired to enroll "the Keyserites" among his disciples, thus forming a promising nucleus in Philadelphia. To this end he laid a proposition before Mr. Banger, and received this reply: "We are both for baptism by immersion, and I do not see any reason why *we* should join *you*, that would not equally require *you* to join *us*." Mr. Campbell answered, "*You* celebrate the Lord's Supper twice a year, whereas we celebrate it every Lord's day."

That, replied Mr. Banger, is only increasing the number of times, but does not touch the principle. What do you say concerning the washing of feet? *We* do *that:* do *you?* Besides: We hold to the restitution of all things: do *you?* Negative replies sealed the conclusion: "*Our* testimony is altogether the largest and grandest, and vainly you try to argue us into relinquishment of it."

Memorandum of Fitch and Palmer.

In Feb., 1790, John Fitch and several sympathizers organized what they called The Universal Society. Its regular meetings began in the autumn of that year, at which time there were "more than thirty members." They met weekly for instruction, conference and debate upon moral and philosophical subjects. They claimed to be Deists, and are here mentioned because of the following incidents:

In March, 1791, the Rev. Mr. Palmer, who had been a preacher in the Society of Universal Baptists, was ejected because of heretical teaching. Several members followed him. They obtained a room in Church Alley, and on the next Sunday he preached from Micah vi. 8: Do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God.

The Universal Society before-mentioned, united with Mr. Palmer's followers on that occasion. The hall was crowded, and the preacher denied the divinity (possibly only the deity) of Christ in the course of his sermon — announcing at its close that he would preach on that subject on the Sunday following. The owner of the building, it seems, refused the hall for that purpose.

This is the first and last I know of Mr. Palmer. The Universal Society perished in little more than a year from its origin.*

* See the papers of John Fitch in the Philad. Library, and Thompson Westcott's Life of that remarkable man.

CHAPTER VII.

Murray and Winchester — Redemption of Devils — Hosea Ballou — Origin and History — Infallibility of Christ — Representative Men — Canon of N. T. — What became of Universalism — Clemens and Origen — Reformers — Grandeur of Christ — The Holy Ghost — Resisted and Grieved — Resisted and Quenched — Teacher and Guide — Blasphemy — The Comforter — Tillotson's Suggestion — Macknight's — Watts' — Dr. Adam Clarke's Plea — Hope for Sinners — Joy for Saints.

BOTH Murray and Winchester acknowledged the existence of fallen superhuman beings, fallen angels or devils; and they held this theory in precisely the shape in which it is held in the "evangelical" churches: But Winchester held that the devils were redeemed by the atonement of Christ, and will be saved, whereas Murray held that they will finally be destroyed.

Very soon after the first interview of these remarkable men, in 1784, the latter had a conversation with one of the adherents of the former, the substance of which is recorded in Murray's Letters and Sketches, as follows:

Inquirer. Mr. Winchester has outstripped you now, for he preaches the salvation of devils as well as men. . . . Is there not as much danger in going beyond as in coming short of divine revelation?

Murray. I rather think not, sir. Truth, and nothing but truth, is no doubt greatly to be desired. Yet it appears to me there is more to be said in favor of him who views the mercy of God as boundless, and thus, as a consequence, embraceth every intelligent being: I say, such a person deserves more credit than the individual whose narrow soul, wholly unacquainted with the immensity of divine love, limits the Holy One of Israel to a small number of the human race.

Yet, sir, I confess to you, that as the Redeemer passed by the nature of angels and took not upon him their character, but the nature and character of humanity, I am willing to pass them by also. I conceive I am not called to preach to the fallen angels, nor do I aim at being wise above what is written.

I am far from objecting to the will of God, if he should choose to make the crooked straight as well as the rough places smooth. Yet, as I said, I do not conceive *I* am sent to preach to devils. One thing however I know; that if God should show favor to the deceiver, there can be no doubt of his showing favor to the deceived; and although the scriptures may not, in my view, appear to teach the doctrine of salvation to fallen angelic sinners, yet another servant of my great Master, under the direction of the same spirit, may be permitted to fathom more deeply those waters of the sanctuary. . . . We know not the extent of his power or of his grace. And wherever I find a person preaching Christ Jesus as the Saviour of the world, he shall have my heart and my hand, nor will I quarrel with him because he thinks too highly of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Murray is certainly to be commended for his manly statement of the case — from which it appears that only a side-issue of small importance, prevented him from adopting Winchester's grand profession respecting fallen angels.

"Are you the man?" some one said, "are you the man who preaches that all the old tobacco pipes will be burnt out, so as to be as good as new?"

"Better that than break them," was the comprehensive reply.

I have no faith in the notion of fallen angels as set forth in the creeds, but if there *be* any such, Universalism must reach them all by the pardoning, refining love of the great God, or be shorn of its glory and its power.

Murray and Winchester were in unity as to the doctrines of the trinity, original sin, total depravity, vicarious sacrifice and imputed righteousness. Also, it would seem, they held to endless punishment as the penal judgment of transgression; but the law of God, having been magnified and made honorable by the substituted obedience of Christ, in behalf of all mankind, prospectively and retrospectively, that penal judgment was annulled, and thenceforward man was to be responsible for actual sin only. Accordingly both Murray and Winchester insist that eternal, everlasting, for ever, for ever and ever, as applied to punishment, have not the strict sense of eternity, but only of indefinite duration, reaching forward to the recovery of all souls.

Murray, while holding to adequate punishment in *this* life, wholly denied the doctrine of future punishment. In *his* view, the misery of unbe-

lievers is and will be the consequence of their ignorance, doubt or denial of the fact that Christ had made absolute atonement in behalf of the whole family of man, to be made manifest in the Lord's own time.

Winchester, on the other hand, while holding to protracted future punishment and to a vicarious instrumentality as the basis of his hope, held that fire and brimstone, the most purifying agents in nature, are the symbols of a refining process, to end only in the final restoration of all mankind.

In the midst of these theories, the churches saw the uplifted hand of Hosea Ballou, mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds, casting down imaginations and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God. Back of saints and martyrs, back of evangelists and apostles, back of prophets and patriarchs, back even of Christ himself as the first-begotten of the Father, he touched the key-note of the morning stars and shouted aloud in the discovery of an ever-living, ever-loving Father of All.

Grandly did the faith of Murray cling to a Saviour whose merciful interposition, comprehending the whole race, had redeemed it absolutely from the perils and penalties of a stern and terrible justice: Nobly did the faith of Winchester rise above the shame of a God defeated in his purpose, and call upon the nations to be-

lieve in a retribution mellowed into restoration by an atoning sacrifice:

But the hand of Ballou that struck down the veils of mystery, exalted the simple testimony of Christ the Mediator, as being the Revelator and Interpreter of the character and the ways of God. With no glowing endless burnings to be quenched — with no need of a vicarious offering to appease him — with no need of a proxy to satisfy the claims of his law,— the Holy One is, and ever was, and ever will be, the lover and the friend of all souls; and saints and martyrs, and evangelists and apostles, and prophets and patriarchs, and the crucified and glorified Redeemer, are but the host ordained to show his salvation to the ends of the earth.*

ORIGIN AND HISTORY.

When the question is urged, Where was your doctrine of Universalism before Murray, Winchester, Ballou? we adopt the Quaker's reply to a corresponding inquiry: Where thine never was, friend — in the Scriptures. And if any

* An article by Rev. W. S. Balch, in the Universalist Quarterly of January, 1872, makes out a strong case for the priority of Rev. Caleb Rich, as to the peculiarities of doctrine claimed for Rev. Hosea Ballou. It is possible that the relation of the former to the latter corresponds to the relation of Relly to Murray and Siegvolk to Winchester. Without the peculiar power of Murray, Winchester and Ballou, the revelations of Relly, Siegvolk and Rich would probably be travelling in a narrow circle.

shall press the fact, set forth in these pages, that Universalists have not been strictly in unity in the details of their creed, we have only to answer that the like was the case among the immediate followers of Christ. And if any shall still further challenge us to answer, by noting the ups-and-downs of our denomination, we need only refer to a like history in the days of the primitive church.

The disciples and apostles were true men, making trustful narrative of what they saw and heard, but their training had been in the Jewish vein of thought, and their expectations were of one who should have redeemed Israel, in an outward interpretation of the prophecy. Not so with the Great Teacher, else was *he* also a fallible man. He predicted his own literal death, and his resurrection on the third day. Which of all his disciples understood or believed him? The time came when all was clear to them: At the date of prediction all was dim or dark. Only *he* walked in the light of day, from first to last; and of what he taught, and illustrated, and *was*, Universalism is the summary. *Comprehensively:* Our Father who art in heaven. *Practically:* Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect. *Sympathetically:* He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to comfort all who mourn. *Experimentally:* If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God. *Eventually:* And I, if I

be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me.

These gospel principles, though held in common by the disciples, were variously regarded as to their relative importance. Have you considered that the apostolic twelve were representative men, types of twelve sorts of men? We know a little concerning several of them — of several we know little beside their names; but had we a biographical sketch of each of the circle, we should, I doubt not, behold mankind comprehended in a group. Was it essential, or only expedient, that it should be so? A perfect classification is impossible. Strictness would end in individualism. In Christianity we are all one, yet how largely diversified are the members of even a single sect! These must be met and answered by men and by revelations suited to the specific case of each; and is it a strange or unwarranted assumption, that there are twelve classes, each represented in the immediate family of Jesus of Nazareth?

Stout, confident Peter, ready to follow our Lord to the cross, if need be, yet terrified by allegation of the maiden — cursing and swearing that he knew not the man — weeping bitterly at the crowing of the cock: John, the gentle disciple whom Jesus loved, and who lay in his bosom at the supper, gathering inspiration and strength to write a loving Evangel, most loving Epistles, most startling Visions: James

the moralist, whose practical discourse was considered if not rejected by Luther as a chaffy epistle, because it seemed to disparage faith in the encomium of good works: Thomas the honest doubter, who did not hesitate to demand palpable evidence of the print of the nails, the deadly thrust of the spear — mighty in faith when accommodated with the proofs his peculiarities demanded: Matthew, whose sympathies were with the publicans sitting at the receipt of custom, and with sinners everywhere, as a people who could be reached through kindly consideration only: Judas Iscariot, plausible in manner, apt as a financier, using the hostility of the Pharisees to replenish a common purse, yet with an inward sense most sorely touched by conviction of a wrong: Here are only half of the chosen twelve. The full complement, I doubt not, would prove what I have intimated, namely, they are representative types of the whole round of humanity. And to make sure of no vacancy, and as banding all, even the Gentiles, let Saul of Tarsus be summoned in the name of Paul.

There was need, we may assume, of twelve men, showing diversities of operations, but the same spirit. Is the allusion allowable that the tree of life, on either side of the river, bare twelve manner of fruits, and that the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations?

The canon of the New Testament, — how

could it be complete without the changeful scenes in the Acts of the Apostles, the logic of Paul, the contrasts and comparisons of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the sternness of Jude, the tender pleadings of John, the close questioning of James, the mellowed counsel of Peter, the awful symbolism of the Apocalypse? In this variety there is something to satisfy the necessities of representative men, and so to satisfy the multitudes of whom they are the types.

The twelve were men — not angels — though many a Christian professor has virtually summed up his reverence in this: I said ye are gods. In the churches, some were of Paul, some of Apollos, some of Cephas — some, too, seemed to be of Moses, as to ceremonials — but all were of Christ.

Learned men, with greater or less impartiality, and with greater or less success, have traced all departures from this simplicity, and whoso will, may accompany these historians through all hideous highways and by-ways of developing degradation. It seemed indeed, during the first three centuries, as if the spiritual authorities had adopted the policy of Roman conquest: Consecrate the divinities and the shrines, the saints and the devils, of every conquered people.— Priests became Bishops, and the Bishop of the strongest hand finally became something more. At what date I do not now inquire. Only the fact is needful for my purpose, that the Catholic

Church, whether Roman or Greek, — a conglomeration of Christian truth, Jewish fables, Heathen superstitions, — obtained the ecclesiastical and therefore the political mastery of the nations. Not always without bitter controversy — not always without violence. The keys and the sword were in the same girdle.

What, meanwhile, became of the Universalism of Christianity? Was it silently conceded during discussions of the Messiahship, Arianism, Pre-existence? Clemens of Alexandria and his renowned pupil, Origen, exalted the cardinal theme, and for many ages the influence of the latter was widely felt and acknowledged; but the Church Council of 553 put the black seal of condemnation upon the doctrine of Universalism.* Then came starless night.

The early Reformers of less than a thousand years later, struggled mainly against the supremacy of the Pope, but made small advance in the direction of nobler views of the divine government. It would seem indeed as if they had leagued to roll a huge stone upon the mouth of the sepulchre to prevent the resurrection of Universalism. Not continental religionists only, but in the reign of Edward VI., of England, 1553, Forty-two-Articles of Faith were enacted, the following being the last of the series:

* Ancient History of Universalism, by Rev. H. Ballou 2d. The author found few of the living among the many dead, in the early centuries of the church.

"*All men not to be saved at last.* They also deserve to be condemned who endeavor to restore the pernicious opinion that all men (though never so ungodly) shall at last be saved, when for a certain time appointed by the Divine justice, they have endured punishment for their sins committed."

Mark: To *restore.* Ten years later, under Elizabeth, the articles were reduced to thirty-nine, the foregoing being among the exscinded sections; but often have I considered what would have been the present state of the Protestant Churches all over the land, had the Reformers distinctly affirmed *the final reformation* of all sinful souls. It would have done ten-fold more to break the power of Roman Catholicism, than has been done by the argumentative warfare of three centuries.

I do not purpose any discussion of the question, but what single rational presumption is there against a reformatory process in the life to come? Critics who would maintain the Godless, Christless, hopeless, heartless dogma of no change after death, may stoutly contend against it, but the common sense of humanity will cling to the popular acceptation of Christ preaching to the spirits in prison. No material fires, no purgatorial satisfaction, no diminution in intensity of suffering, nor shortening of the term by the mummery and machinery of masses for the dead, but only preaching to the departed as he had preached to men in the flesh — the same

tenderness of divine love — the same solemn call into repentance and a new life: In all the wonderful things ascribed to him there is nothing so grandly solemn as this — nothing that so highly exalts him into the empire of souls.

The eyes of the blind were opened to behold and bless the merciful hand: The ears of the deaf were unstopped to hearken to the gracious words which came from guileless lips: The tongues of the dumb were loosened to declare his praise: Forms whence the spirit had passed arose to hail him as more than conqueror: But what are all these miracles of the Lord of the living and the dead, in comparison of the record that he descended into the lower parts of the earth, descended into hell, for the recovery of the lost, as the condition-precedent of ascending far above all heavens that he might fill all things!

Divest these testimonies of all figures of speech, and of the materialistic relation of height and depth, and there remains the most noble, majestic revelation conceivable, — a consecrated and crowned Christ, acknowledged and glorified by the universe of the redeemed.

This is Universalism. Set aside all facts or speculations respecting its origin or its history, if you will: However diversified the details, this is Universalism, rising into honor and dominion in all the world.

THE HOLY SPIRIT, OR SPIRIT OF TRUTH.

Rev. Albert Barnes has been sharply criticized for assuming as a great principle that 1 Cor. xv. 22, "for as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive," is not to be so interpreted as to teach the doctrine of the salvation of all men: Yet I should be willing, did I find or feel it necessary, to occupy a corresponding position in reference to any passage quoted against Universalism. I assume as a great principle that no text whatever is to be so interpreted as to teach the doctrine of endless punishment. As Mr. Barnes did, so would *I* do: Explain isolated, specific passages by what I hold to be the general tenor of the Scriptures.

Murray had a method, satisfactory to himself, of explaining all passages of the Bible in harmony with his mystical theory of Universal Redemption: Winchester interpreted every scriptural declaration of terrible judgment in consistency with Universal Restoration: Ballou, in the beginning, indulged in what we now consider fanciful expositions of the parables of the New Testament, in furtherance of the doctrine of Universal Reconciliation: And it is not probable that any one of these sincere believers in divine revelation would have relinquished his own view of the divine government, if texts had been piled up against him from Tophet to the stars.

The truth is, every man enters into inquiry

with certain personal convictions, coming forth of nature or education, or both, and sooner or later the question will be decided whether the creed is in the man, or the man in the creed. Growth in the knowledge of the true God is an important means of growth in the graces of a religious life: Growth in grace is essential to growth in knowledge of the true God.

If we deny the expository authority of any man, or men, how can we possibly attain the unity of faith, when argument has failed and controversy is at an end? There is only one way: We must agree to interpret the Holy Bible by the Holy Ghost. The latter, which is spoken of as proceeding from the Father, is not a distinct personality but a personification — not the complement of a trinity in unity of the godhead, but a divine spirit awakened, begotten, born, within man — the prophet, revelator, comforter, which Christ promised to send, to teach us all things, to guide us into all truth, and to show us things to come.*

* In John xiv., xv., xvi., *the Paraclete*, four times rendered the Comforter, has the Holy Ghost and the Spirit of Truth, as equivalent, defining terms. In 1 John ii. 1, the same noun is applied to Jesus Christ the righteous, as "*an advocate* with the Father." That is, together with, additional to, on the same side of the case — for it must be accepted as a great principle that this passage is not to be so interpreted as to teach any pleading of man's cause with God. The Father is continually pleading his own cause with the world: Christ is his anointed helper: And as ambassadors for Christ, *we* pray *you*, in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God, 2 Cor. v.

I do not mean that this divine spirit is the judge of verbal or dogmatic criticism, or of metaphysical nicety, nor would I accept the fancies or the frenzies of the ages, but I do hold that whoso feels the inspiration of divine love, and obeys the aspirations and follows the leadings of good-will to men, will rise above merely textual authority and be sure that *Christ himself is the Word of God.*

That Word in a veil of flesh and blood dwelt among us, full of grace and truth, in the personal ministry and miracles of Jesus of Nazareth. Not by measure was the spirit given to him. What he is in glory he was in humiliation — yet it was expedient for even the immediate apostles that he should go away from them as to a visible presence, and not until the outward passed came the inward power.

In the days of Christ's mortality, what were the disciples but devout, superstitious men, holding carnal expositions of the prophecies of old? Not until our Lord was taken away from them, did they understand that the kingdom is not in word but in power, — not material elements for the needs of material life, but righteousness, peace and joy in a Holy Spirit. What was the dove which celebrated the baptism of water, what but a symbol of inward, spiritual grace? It was not understood, long afterwards, for many who had received the like baptism had not so much as heard whether there be any Holy

Ghost — that is, any inward, spiritual power. What were the cloven tongues of flame, but symbols of light and love, rising in the unity of prayer and praise? What was the sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, what was it but an indication of an invisible presence?

And when every man heard the disciples speak in his own tongue, what was this but the revelation of the common language of the Holy Ghost in every age and in every land?

This divine spirit is something more than the inner light of the Quakers, unless indeed the latter throws its radiance into the realm of darkness and kindles it up with the glories of eternal day. It is the *witness of the spirit.* As the firmament shows forth the glory of the Lord without voice or language, the spirit helpeth our infirmities with unutterable yearnings. That witness finds something more than rhyme in holiness and lowliness. It reaches into heaven to worship with angels and with the redeemed, and into hell to lift the forlorn into the newness and nearness of a ransomed life.

That men of the representative type of Barnes*

* *Rev. Albert Barnes.* "In the distress and anguish of my own spirit, I confess that I see no light whatever. I see not one ray to disclose to me . . . why man must suffer to all eternity. . . . I have never seen a particle of light thrown on these subjects that has given a moment's ease to my tortured mind. . . . I trust other men have not the anguish of spirit which I have. . . . It is all dark, dark, dark to my soul, and I cannot disguise it." —*Practical Sermons,* pp. 123–4.

believe in the Holy Bible after their own fashion of exposition, and that they are men of prayer, cannot be doubted. The same is true of representative men of the type of Edwards.* It is equally certain that the former resist and grieve the Holy Ghost by unbelief in its supplications, while the latter resist and quench it.

The sin against the Holy Ghost is not chargeable. *That* is simply a wilful sin, whereas people who hold a creed which darkens the universe to their souls, and people whose creed hardens the heart and banishes all pity from the church and the heavens, must be terribly sincere. As Paul blasphemed, but obtained mercy because he did it ignorantly in unbelief, so these do not deserve to be punished, but only need enlightenment. Alas for the hindrance! They would fain bind the sweet influences of Pleiades, and interpret the Holy Ghost by merciless expositions of the Holy Bible!

The Jews, on the other hand, sinned against inward conviction. Their personal indignity to the Son of Man was pardonable because of their sincere ignorance. They deemed him an impostor. Even when they crucified him, they knew not what they did, and the Mediator

* *Rev. Dr. Edwards*. "The sight of hell torments will exalt the happiness of the saints for ever. When they see others of the same nature, and born under the same circumstances, plunged in such misery, and they so distinguished, O it will make them sensible how happy they are."

prayed for their forgiveness on that plea.— Through ignorance ye did it. To which an apostle adds, that had they known the hidden wisdom of heaven, they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory. But when they belied their own consciences, and wilfully accused him of casting out demons by Beelzebub, they blasphemed the Spirit of God in Christ, and sinned against their own souls. It was a wilful sin, not pardonable in either the Law or the Gospel age.

I do not claim that everything in the New Testament, on this theme, is equally clear. There are passages which I cannot yet interpret; but I hope some day to read a History of the Holy Ghost, and I prophesy, as its undeniable lesson, that the idea, or thought, or sentiment, or spirit of Universalism, has from the beginning been a mighty power in the souls of men. No considerate religionist or moralist can be indifferent to its struggles and its triumphs, and I lament that I am not more competent to trace its developments and to describe the connections of its victories.

As a spirit, we see it working by patient agencies, and rising in due time into a system of doctrine and into organizations of believers. What is the "war in heaven" but the conflict of the mystery of iniquity and the mystery of godliness? There has been fierce battle on the planes of man's higher and nobler nature, and the adversary and his legions have been thrust

out and cast down into the earth, wherever and whenever the revelation has been acknowledged of a mighty and merciful God in a redeeming, triumphant Christ.

And all this through the blessed instrumentality of the Spirit of Truth, the Holy Ghost. Whithersoever it journeys, the olden prophecy is fulfilled: "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. The eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. The lame man shall leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing; for in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert: And the glowing sand shall become a pool, and the thirsty soil bubbling springs." Even into the haunt of dragons is its appointed path, opening up a highway for the King of Glory.

— Unquestionably we may claim a gospel of unparalleled worth. The voice of a divine-humanity pleads for a redemption which girdles the whole race of man, and fills the universe of souls with the grandeur and the praise of God. All limitation must needs include doubt, and if the portals of immortal blessedness shall be closed against *even one* of our race, *that one* may be *you*. *Certainty* of such an issue would embitter every moment of your life; *probability* that the final lot of sorrow will fall on *you*, would haunt you with fearful wailings; and *the*

bare possibility of endless wretchedness for any, would seem to debar all confidence in the merciful overrulings of the Creator's hand.

Have you friends whom you dearly love, albeit you know their failings and their faults? Have you a husband, or a wife, or children, whom you cherish as the apple of your eye, despite their infirmities? Allowing self to be satisfied as to personal results, have you no misgivings as to the welfare of these? To enjoy rest and peace of mind, must you needs stifle thought and shut yourselves up in stolid indifference?

There can be no question that every faithful, devout soul is entitled to the promised comfort of those who mourn; and the more like Christ any one becomes, the larger is his claim for consolation. It is not a claim in *selfishness*, but in wide-reaching sympathy and pity; and the recompense of both Christ and his followers is in the redemption of the lost. Do you not believe that the great God will answer the prayer which his own spirit has breathed into your inmost heart? How else, in what other way, can you reach the comfort he has promised you?

It is not the bare possibility of this sublime issue that Universalism affirms, nor the mere probability, but the absolute certainty of it. There is no limitation, and therefore no room for doubt. Say that the wicked will be punished and the righteous rewarded: All this we

do steadfastly believe. The Holy Spirit which Christ promised to send, was to convict the world of sin by the contrast of righteousness, and to rebuke it in judgment. But as, on the one hand, there are blessings which no man can earn, so on the other we may see how merited punishments may fall short, very far short of an eternity of wretchedness. The lines of justice and of mercy, though seeming to run parallel, are convergent and coincide at the last. In that point all Christian aspiration meets and every prayer is satisfied, and that grand consummation is the highest conceivable revelation of the generosity of God.

Take what view you deem wisest respecting the mode of the divine existence — only hold firmly the comprehensive truth that GOD IS LOVE: Assign to Jesus of Nazareth whatever station you consider most consistent and honorable — only be assured that he is the SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD: Place what estimate you please on rites and ceremonies — only be sure that you see the grander nobility of love and good-will: Concede the auxiliary worth of formulas and theories — only see that they interfere not with the gushing tenderness of the heart that has been touched by the inspiration of Christ.

Above all, and more than all, scan both nature and providence with a philosopher's curiosity and prophet's vision — only believe in the interpretation of all mysteries by the wonder-

workings of infinite perfection, and then crown the entire circle of thought by the devout meditation, "Whom have I in heaven but Thee, and there is none upon earth that I desire beside Thee!"

— Very wonderful (and yet not wonderful) it is to consider the many methods men have imagined or contrived to get rid of the abomination that maketh desolate, the doctrine of endless sin and sorrow. They have found it standing in the holy place, even in the sanctuaries of religion, and now in *this* way and for *this* reason, and anon in *that* way and for *that* reason, they have struck it from the canons and the creed.

Some indeed have ruled themselves among utter unbelievers because they could not brook the companionship of utterly repugnant thoughts. They would rather deny the being of a God than believe in a Supreme Majesty unworthy of reverence and trust.

See, too, how the truly religious spirit has sought ways and means to get rid of horrible and blasphemous dogmas, without impeaching the authority of divine revelation.

Archbishop Tillotson, in his most celebrated sermon, affirmed that never-ending torment is threatened in the Bible, but he evaded the issue by the position that he who *promises* concedes a right to the party to whom promise is made, whereas he who *threatens* still holds in his hand the reversal or cancelment of the decree of

judgment — and no man can find fault if the Lord be better than worse than his word!

Of like tenor is the suggestion of Macknight: "Allowing that eternal punishments are really meant in the threatenings of the gospel, no man can deny that God has it still in his power to mitigate and modify them, to what degree infinite wisdom sees fit." What is this but the generous suggestion of a way in which the Supreme Being may escape from the extremity of his own law? Herod was sorry, but had not the manliness to recede from an oath uttered in ignorance of what mischief was involved. Can you conceive of a more pitiable spectacle than a sorry God?

Dr. Watts, though asserting that He has not given us any discovery of hope respecting the wicked, tremblingly suggests that the divine perfections may contrive a way of escape, or, failing in this, there is yet hope for the ungodly in the scheme of annihilation!

The latter is indeed the form at present assumed by spiritual antagonism to torment without alleviation and without end. There is not enough of devil in the creed to assent to interminable sin and wailing in the depths of misery, nor enough of angel to lift the spiritually dead into the mount of transfiguration.

See, moreover, how generalities of argument give way in the presence of specific application. Dr. Adam Clarke was positive that endless wretchedness is true for somebody; but the case

of Absalom came up for commentary, and there was urgent need for an exceptional clause. Not on certainties, not on probabilities, but on bare possibilities, the heart of prayer leaned, as his pen indited the forlorn hope, Is it not possible that the young man cried for pardon while he hung in the tree? The renowned author had been moved by the mournful apostrophe, Would God I had died for *thee*, Absalom, my son, my son!

When he wrote his commentary on Matthew's account of Judas, all seemed clear for the creed, for the Holy Ghost was absent; but when his pen touched the Acts of the Apostles, the Holy Ghost was present, and the gates were opened into the kingdom of heaven.

And if Judas passed through the refining fire of infinite love, why should not his advocate be justified in assuming that the wretchedness of Ananias and Sapphira (who sinned against the Holy Ghost) was condensed in the judgment of death, and justify a plea for pardon in the penitent visions of immortal life?

Every day and every hour we have illustrations of corresponding fact and thought. Even where there is no doubt of the eternity of woe as a hideous generality, there is shrinking from special application, and the trust is uttered or silently held, He is in the hands of a merciful God! Vainly you press for a frank avowal of the creed in the face of awful death-beds or under the gallows of the impenitent. There is evermore hope

against hope, trusting in the tenderness of him who is pre-eminently the Son of God because he is pre-eminently the Son of Man.

And thus, not in the words that merely human wisdom teacheth, but in the words that the Holy Ghost teacheth, we compare spiritual things with spiritual. The carnal mind protests with loathing — the unbelieving heart rejects with lamentation — the trustful soul exults in demonstration of the spirit and of power.

CHAPTER VIII.

Value of Organization — An Old Meeting-House — Rev. John Murray — Alice Brown — Energy of Faith — A Church Organized — Excommunication — Letter in Reply—Rev. Abel Sarjent — Thomas Brown — Robert Lawrence — Pitiful Piety — Dumb Church — Gloom and Decay — Sale of the Meeting-House — Thrice Removed — A Hay-Barn — Banner Cry of Zion — James Boone — James Scott — Manna in the Wilderness — Jacob Grosh — Rev. Jacob Myers — Missionary Life — Whom shall I send? — Pottsville — Easton — Cry under Fallen Altars.

WE have seen how strong the Convention of 1790 was — strong in good men and in noble work Strong also in the number of societies or churches, within two or three years — as shown by the Circular Letter of 1792:

"We have the satisfaction to inform you that the number of churches and societies joined and united with us, has increased to fifteen, exclusive of twenty-five societies that have not yet met us in Convention."

Here is a claim and acknowledgment of forty societies or churches. Doubtless many of them were small, and few of them had meeting-houses — yet we have seen how from year to year the power died out, until the promising nucleus perished. What was the cause of decline?

Only this: There was no persistent organization. The ministers were not pastors, gathering

the sheep of the fold and caring for the lambs of the flock. They were only preachers, now here, now there, with no special charge. They were brave, prayerful, self-sacrificing men. They knew how to confound all adversaries in argument, and to awaken a glow of love in the souls of believers. They knew how to kindle a flame upon the outward altars of worship — but they did *not* know how to make the fire unquenchable. Yet there is neither mystery nor miracle about it. The fire must be continually fed, or all will pass into ashes, dead and cold.

What is the secret of the visible progress and prosperity of Methodism? Clearly this: The missionary on horseback, with a pair of saddle-bags, a change of raiment, a Bible and a hymn-book — inspired by the grace of a redeemed life — organizing classes, appointing class-leaders — these growing into local preachers, and stations into living churches — enlarging the borders and strengthening the stakes of Zion on every hand.

How is it (or has it been) with *us?* I do not (and never did) disparage learning in a clergyman: other things being equal, the more we have of it the better. Nor do I undervalue missionary work, though I have thought of late years that it is not profitable to plough more land than we can cultivate. But I do say that all our seminaries of learning, literary and theological, and all our preaching, will fail to make

us a power in the earth, without persistent organization of churches and of Sunday Schools as auxiliaries.

There was little of the one and none of the other in the days of the Philadelphia Convention. Cox, Worth, Seagrave, Evans, Sarjent, and others, passed away leaving no ministerial representatives, and all the Societies or Churches aforesaid, with one exception, shared the fate of the churches of the apocalypse. Surely it was of the Lord's mercies that the exception was not consumed.

I need not multiply illustrations of what is here insisted upon, but the following piece of history is so curious that I shall readily be pardoned for inserting it, especially as it relates to one of the forty churches claimed by the Convention herein treated of.

AN OLD MEETING-HOUSE.

We learn from the Life of the Rev. John Murray, who settled in New England in 1774, that "he continued uniformly to devote the summer months to his multiplied adherents from Maryland to New Hampshire." Conformably to this plan, he was in Good Luck in 1784, at which time he visited the grave of Thomas Potter, and preached a sermon in eulogy of his early friend and patron.

On the occasion of this visit to Cedar Creek and Good Luck, he became acquainted with two

families of Baptists, Platt and Potter, who, designing to attend meeting at Jacobstown, a long day's ride, invited him to accompany them. He accepted the invitation, tarried several days at the end of his journey, and preached in the Baptist Meeting-House. He was the guest of John and Alice Brown.

The latter was among his converts. Respecting her, the child-memory of a grand-daughter, still living, has visions only of "a fair beautiful face, and a black velvet cloak." She was the daughter of Rev. John Coward, a distinguished Baptist clergyman of that region, a woman of more than ordinary talent, information and energy. She sustained an unblemished reputation, and was universally beloved. She had been a zealous Baptist, and her change of sentiment was long remembered with sorrow among her kindred and in the church from which she came out.

That she possessed more than usual individuality and strength of purpose, may fairly be inferred from the fact that she broke through the social trammels of an honorable church ancestry and relation, and unreservedly avowed herself a convert to the unpopular doctrine of Universalism.

Other members of the church, presumably, imitated her influential example, and others, again, regarded as outsiders, were so favorably impressed, that a proposition to erect a Univer-

salist meeting-house, met prompt encouragement. Very soon a considerable sum was raised for the purpose, and the meeting-house was built (I should rather say, commenced) having a free burial-ground attached. In all this, Alice Brown was the leading spirit and a liberal contributor — footing all adverse balances, I judge. I have copies of several receipts, dated in 1795, one of them for so many "hard dollars," and others for so many pounds and shillings, "received of Alice Brown for work done (in the way of repairs, or in the slow process of completion) at the Universal Meeting-House in New Hanover."

According to tradition, her husband, a man of business, took no part in this project, but donated about an acre of ground for the purpose — the site, in the township of New Hanover, being about midway between the villages of Jacobstown and New Egypt, and about one hundred yards south of the road between those places, on a cross-road leading, I believe, to Cookstown.

How devout and persevering must have been the zeal of that remarkable woman! The meeting-house upon which she had set her seal, was unfinished after ten years of labor, but still she kept on. All that she could spare from her own purse, which never was as full as her heart, and all that was contributed in answer to her application, was spent upon that house of the Lord.

— A Universalist Church or Society having

not yet been organized, Alice Brown was still a member of the Baptist Church — not, however, of the branch instituted in Jacobstown in 1785, but of the one at New Mills, now Pemberton. Though residing within the circle of the new, she had preference for continuance in the old, especially as no principle was at stake.

The time however came when she was the centre of a religious group who organized themselves into a society known as the Free Universal Church of Christ at New Hanover, Empson Kirby, Elder, William Phares, Clerk — the date being Sept. 25, 1793. They unanimously adopted the Articles of Faith set forth by the Philadelphia Convention of 1790.

Jan. 30, 1794, the same officers, in behalf of the same church, forwarded a letter to their absent Minister:

"We continue to hold you as our pastor in this church, hoping for your prayers as such. We likewise continue to meet together once a week, for the edifying of each other. We still remain steadfast in the belief of God's universal love, and we are still persuaded that it is impossible for that love to change."

That Minister or pastor undoubtedly was Rev. Abel Sarjent, of whom I have elsewhere given an account.

I gather these facts (respecting the organization of a church) from the Free Universal Magazine, edited and published by Mr. Sarjent, Mrs. Alice Brown being in the list of subscribers.

That Magazine also contains a "Letter from the Baptists to their dissenting sister who had lately joined the Universalists." It was signed I. C., meaning Rev. Isaac Carlisle, pastor of the Baptist Church at New Mills, and addressed to Mrs. Alice Brown. I quote a portion of her reply, which sufficiently explains and answers the ejectment and its line of argument.

To Rev. Isaac Carlisle.

My dear Brother: . . . . You inform me that I am no more a member of your church. I do not expect it. I tarried as long as I could feel easy. . . . Brother, it is my confidence in the faithfulness of God and the power of his word, to accomplish all his designs, and so to fulfil all his promises, that makes me believe as I do. . . . God's love cannot change; therefore all shall, sooner or later, be brought to the very end for which he designed them, which was to glorify and enjoy God. Not unto *us*, but unto *his* name be all the glory. If God so loved the world, and if this kindness of his towards man, hath been so brought to light by the Gospel, may we not take the comfort and give God the glory of our salvation?

You beg to know what I have gained by the exchange. I will tell you. The more I see of his greatness and goodness, the more I love him. You say, if that were the case you should wish me God speed. I thank you. I hope God will speed me in so glorious a doctrine. Would to God you might rejoice with me in the same joy. But if we do not see alike in all things, let not that hinder our Christian love. . . .

. . . . You say the word of God stands opposed to the doctrine of Universal Salvation. Perhaps it is for a want of due and impartial inquiry, or education may lead you to think so, but I think the whole testimony of God supports and defends the truth of that heavenly,

and soul-drawing, and soul-exulting doctrine. Now who is or can be able to pluck us out of the hand of him who has all power in heaven and earth?

. . . . This from your friend and well-wisher,

ALICE BROWN.

There is singular sweetness in the assurance that she had tarried as long as she could feel easy — also in the appeal, May we not take the comfort and give God the glory?

Thomas Brown (born 1762, died 1845, aged 83) heard Murray preach in the old meeting-house referred to, and narrated the circumstances so frequently to his kindred and friends, that it remains among his descendants a vivid and valued tradition. The text was Titus ii. 11, 12: "The grace of God that bringeth salvation to all men hath appeared, teaching us that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world." The man went in an opposer, and came out a convert.

This was in one of the missionary visits of Mr. Murray, the date being uncertain. It may have been in 1798, when he was in Philadelphia on business — or in May, 1803, when he attended the Universalist Convention — or in the winter of 1803–1804, when he spent two months in that city for the accommodation of Mr. Jones, who was on a visit to New England, doubtless with a view to settlement in Gloucester. Mr. Murray would hardly pass within call of one of

the few Universalist meeting-houses in the land, without preaching to his steadfast friends in New Hanover.

That building, erected 1785–95, was then known as distinctively a Universalist meeting-house, and is still thus spoken of in the region round about, by all who know anything of the matter. What Universalist ministers preached in the neighborhood, or what Universalist Ministers (besides Murray) preached in the meeting-house, I have been unable to learn. Tradition, avouching that several clergymen of the Universalist order had there lifted up the voice of redemption, is ignorant of their names.

I have learned, however, that *Robert Lawrence*, a convert to Universalism, frequently exhorted there, about 1800. He died in 1834. My informant says,

"I remember him well. A little time before his death, a lame man preached in the school-house in New Egypt. I have forgotten his name. Mr. Lawrence, I recollect, was very anxious to see him, but his Methodist family would not gratify this very aged and infirm man, by inviting the Universalist Minister to call upon him."

Undoubtedly that Minister was Rev. Savillion W. Fuller. On our pilgrimage to Good Luck in May, 1834, we had meetings at several points, and Mr. Fuller was one of the preachers in New Egypt. Had he known the circumstances mentioned by my correspondent, he would have walked all night, if necessary, lame as he was,

to take that ancient Brother Lawrence by the hand. Surely piety did a pitiful thing in refusing the old man's reasonable request. Such bigotry, even on the plea of conscience, is pardonable only through repentance, by the unmerited clemency of the Lord.

It is plain to us now, in fact, what probably was plain in prophecy, that merely lay-preaching or exhortation, could not long sustain an unpopular cause. Young clergymen of the Universalist order did not rise up to occupy the places of the ancients and elders, and the dying away of a regular ministry brought silence into that structure, and dust upon its threshold. "It was very mournful," said an aged lady to me, "it was very mournful to pass by that dumb church."

Alice Brown died March 3, 1810, in the seventy-sixth year of her age, in the family of her daughter Elizabeth, near Imlaytown, and was buried in the graveyard of what is known as the Yellow Church, built by or for her father. With uncovered heads, and with prayer upon our lips, my friend and I recently stood at the grave of the departed disciple of the Lord, and read the comprehensive inscription of the birth and death of Alice Brown.

— Meanwhile there was no public worship in that meeting-house, hastening through gloom into decay. There had been many burials in the ground, (or rather in the bed of white sand enclosed as a cemetery.) The fence had fallen

down — and so the Trustees (or persons who seemed to have control) decided to sell the building, erect a substantial fence around the burial-ground, and put the balance at interest for the purpose of keeping the fence in repair. This was accordingly done — but the man to whom the money was loaned (still living at upwards of 90) failed in business, and the investment was lost.

In the course of years the posts rotted, and panel by panel the fence fell down. It was everybody's business to set it up, and therefore nobody's. It belonged to nobody, and therefore to everybody. And so the material was pilfered piece-meal; and were it not that the owner of the adjacent field brought his fence out to the road, thus inclosing the burial-ground, the premises would now be an open common. It was long ago abandoned as a place of burial.

The meeting-house was bought by Edward Black, for account of John Newbold, taken to pieces and removed east of Crosswicks Creek to the Hocamick Farm, and set up as a hay-barn. Tilton Wildes, still living, was a boy aiding in this operation in the autumn of 1813.

The building being found not sufficiently central for the large farm, was removed by Anthony Logan, in the interest of the same owner, to a knoll on the east side of the road running south from New Egypt, distant about a mile and a half. Thence in 1841 (Tilton Wildes having bought

the property in 1840) it was removed to a rising ground about two hundred and fifty yards north of the present farm-house — and there it stands this day.

Abraham R. Dutcher, who aided in this third removal, has, through the intermediate thirty years, been the occupant of the premises. A notice of mine, addressed "To Antiquarians," and published in the *New Jersey Mirror* of July 19, 1871, attracted his attention, and by letter he promptly informed me of what he had been told by Charles Ashton, an old man who had worked for him several years ago, and now deceased — and this was my first clue to the history here narrated. Some of the facts and traditions had indeed been communicated to me in the autumn of 1833, by my since-departed friend and brother Universalist, John Meirs, and I had published the same,* but was not moved, until recently, to trace the whole matter.

"Often," said Mr. Dutcher's niece at the date of my first visit, "often, when we were children, have my cousins and I played and romped in that old barn: Had we known it was once a church, we should have been more sober."

Is it strange that to *me* it should still be more than a hay-barn, thirty-one feet by twenty-four? What if the sills were renewed, and other new timbers introduced, in the lapse of years? The frame is still there, and the braces, and the

* In the N. Y. Christian Messenger, iii. 6.

rafters, and portions at least of the sheathing — and, most of all, the scent of the roses clings to the broken vase.

I went to it alone. Is it strange that I should bow myself on the straw of that barn-floor, and lift my voice in prayerful reverence of the Master of Life? or that I should rise and sing the Banner-Cry of Zion? Surely it was still a Church, for it was the House of God and the Gate of Heaven.

BANNER-CRY OF ZION.

Remembering the saints of the ages long ago,
— Shouting the banner-cry of Zion —
The heavens above are bowed
To the joyful earth below,
— Shouting the banner-cry of Zion.

Chorus: Hail the Redeemer, faithful and true,
Conquering by many, conquering by few,
While pilgrims in the old paths
Find them ever new —
— Shouting the banner-cry of Zion.

The building stone shall cry
From the holy temple wall,
And the timber-beam shall answer
To the spirit-stirring call.

The word of faith we honor,
Be it new, or be it old,
To nations yet unborn
Shall its blessedness unfold.

O sweet will be the worship,
When from earth we pass away,
In a house not made with hands,
In the realm of endless day.

ADDITIONAL.

Milton Boone long ago published a brief account of James Boone, an eminent mathematician who resided in (my native) Exeter, Berks Co., Penna., in the middle of the last century. He was a prominent member of the Society of Friends, but was "disowned" because he rejected their testimony in relation to war.

A manuscript book once belonging to him, and now in possession of the writer above named, contains clear evidence that he was a believer in the final restitution of all things. He says, "There are three kinds of eternity mentioned in the Scripture: The first eternity is without beginning and without end: The second eternity is with beginning and without end: The third eternity is with beginning and with end."

These distinctions of difference he thus illustrates: 1. God is from everlasting to everlasting, without beginning and without end. 2. Angels, souls and spirits of men had a beginning but will never have an end. 3. The words eternal, for ever, &c., are frequently used in Scripture to denote durations having a beginning and ending. And he adds, "Goodness was from all eternity, but evil has sprung up since the creation, and will be entirely subdued and consumed away at the conclusion of the times of the restitution of all things." The manuscript contains much in the same vein of thought and argument.

The writer who gives us these quotations, then considers the date of the book, and establishes it about 1762, eight years before the landing of John Murray on the coast of New Jersey. Whence then the remarkable Universalist criticism of James Boone? I answer, he had it from Paul Siegvolk's Everlasting Gospel, in which there is precisely the same classification of "eternities," and the same line of illustration and argument.

Whence then this book? I answer, Exeter adjoins Oley, in which latter the elder Dr. de Benneville resided for several years. He was an ardent admirer of Siegvolk's treatise. It had been translated from the German and printed at his instance and expense in Germantown in 1753, nine years previously to the date assigned to the manuscript above mentioned. It is not probable that two such men could live in adjoining townships of the interior, and not become personally acquainted. We may therefore assume that Boone copied from Siegvolk by de Benneville's permission.

This James Boone may stand as a type of multitudes of thoughtful men and women in all parts of the land, to whom the message comes in retirement from the world, and who might say with Job, "My root was spread out by the waters, and the dew lay all night upon my branch:" People to whom it is *given* to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, and who, even

in solitude, serenely cherish faith in the final overthrow of the throne of darkness.

— In August, 1829, "An Impartial View of Divine Justice, by James Scott," a pamphlet of thirty-one pages 12mo., appeared, with the imprint, "Lancaster, printed for the Proprietor, by H. W. Villee." The second part contains "Trinitarianism Examined, and Reasons why I cannot be a Trinitarian" — the whole professing to have been printed from manuscript.

Until recently I knew nothing whatever of the author, and now only this: In the Minutes of the South Carolina Convention of 1833, it is recorded that "one sermon was preached by James Scott, an advocate for universal salvation, but who professes to belong to no denomination. He is an elderly man — appears to be well acquainted with the brethren in the Western States, and says he resides in Illinois."

Were this pamphlet to pass through the hands of a printer who understands punctuation and other niceties of the art, it would make better impression on literary taste; but, abating crudities in style, it is a strong work, filled with terse, clear argument, permeated by a religious spirit.

This wanderer in the earth, at home everywhere and nowhere at home, is a type of multitudes of believers all over the land. They have no membership in any visible organization — some because they lack opportunity — others,

because they have preference for free-fellowship. Let us nevertheless rejoice that the Ark of the Covenant is with them in all their wanderings and encampments, dispensing blessing by the way, and that sooner or later it will find an abiding-place in the temple of the Lord.

That Ark (borne by whom I know not, but it was enshrined in a German book entitled the Restitution of All Things, by John William Peterson,) found a young school-master in the eastern part of Lancaster County, Pa., about 1823, and when he returned to his home in Marietta in the spring following, he spoke to his father of the hidden manna — and lo! the father had already found it among the Moravians, but had doubted whether he should make it known — a delusion still existing in many quarters.

In 1825, a young Quaker, also a school-master, who had heard of it in York Barrens, came into the circle, and very soon there were Sunday gatherings at the house of *Jacob Grosh* — and two young men alternately read sermons in that group of believing worshippers.* And then came Rev. S. R. Smith in 1827 — and afterwards Rev. T. Fiske was there, and in Lancaster city, and in Petersburg — and Rev. Jacob Myers, of

* The young school-master first alluded to was A. B. Grosh, and he and the writer of this sketch were the two young men who officiated as lay-readers. We had obtained Kneeland's Lectures and Ballou's Eleven Sermons from Philadelphia.— A. C. T. entered the ministry in Nov., 1828, and A. B. G. in Feb., 1829.— Jacob Grosh, the patriarch, departed this life Nov. 4, 1860, aged eighty-five.

one of the German sects, became a convert to Universalism. He was fluent in English as well — was in firm manhood, of tall goodly presence, a musical voice of large compass, a heart of gentleness, a clear mind and a clear life; and very soon he carried the Ark into various parts.

In Jan., 1829, a Universalist Society was formed in Marietta, having the benefit of a Free Meeting-House; and George Grosh and Jacob Myers commenced the publication of *Der Frœhliche Botschafter*, a monthly octavo Universalist Magazine in the German language, in April.

Mr. Myers preached in Womelsdorf, Berks County, as early as May, 1831. A Hall was obtained and fitted up for public worship, Jan. 8, 1832. A Society was formed, and Mr. Myers engaged as the preacher at intervals of three or four weeks. Rev. Samuel Longencker entered the ministry, and a meeting-house was erected and dedicated, with a ruinous incumbrance.

In Oct., 1832, a Society was gathered in Columbia, Lancaster County, under the stimulus of having been stoned in a school-house, at the organization of the Pennsylvania Convention in May preceding. — A meeting-house (for school purposes also) was erected in Reamstown, and opened for public worship July 27, 1834, and Mr. Myers was engaged to preach there statedly at long intervals.

In all these localities, and a wide missionary circuit beside, Mr. Myers was almost the sole preacher, there being only occasional and brief

help from Mr. Longencker. They both preached in the English and German languages, and the congregations were usually large, by reason of the ability of the men and the attractions of the truth. — But they had too much work on hand to make full proof of their ministry. If, instead of scattering precious seed all over four or five counties, each had restricted himself to a few fields, properly inclosed, no prophecy of prosperity would have been too encouraging for utterance.

There is moreover the consideration that these evangelists were illy cared for in a material sense. In that day, the membership of Lutheran and other congregations of German stock, was very large, and the contribution of a dollar or two by each communicant, covered the annual expenditure, but this would not answer the purpose of a comparatively small company of believers and sympathizers. The Universalist heralds had the recompense (largely to be considered) of well-meant endeavors, but while not denying the faith, they were continually in danger of being *worse* than infidels, in practical neglect of family needs. For which reason, they ceased from the calling of missionaries and engaged in secular pursuits.

Both died long ago, and I have solemn pleasure in penning this tribute to their memory. They were valiant and self-sacrificing men, of whom the age was not worthy.

The Societies I have mentioned have passed

into the dreamy shade, awaiting, it may be, the advent of the Lord of the Resurrection. Zion's Church in Marietta, and Liberty Chapel in Reamstown, wait with open doors; many localities of a once exultant ministry beckon a welcome; many isolated believers wait with open hearts, — and daily we hear the voice of the Lord, "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" But there is no one to answer, "Here am *I:* send *me*."

Two examples are not so readily explained. In Easton, Universalism was first preached in the autumn of 1830, and in Pottsville in the summer of 1833. In each a Society was organized, a meeting-house erected, a preacher settled, and for several years there was the prosperity of devotion and fidelity. But business-disasters passed upon Pottsville — the meeting-house was sold on an underlying legal claim, and disintegration followed. As to Easton, I will say only that the meeting-house, clear of debt, has been temporarily rented to worshippers of the contrary part.

When the supply of Universalist clergymen shall become equal to the demand, if ever, all these dead churches, touching even the bones of a prophet, may revive and stand upon their feet. I do heartily and hopefully plead for the coming of that day, — but often I hear the mournful cry of souls under fallen altars, How long, O Lord!

CHAPTER IX.

READING — Rev. T. Fiske — Rev. W. L. Hawley — Philadelphia Association—Shipwreck—Dedication of the Church — Sunday School — L. Briner — Rev. E. S. Ely — Rev. Samuel Ashton — Dr. Ely again — Rev. A. B. Grosh — Rev. James Shrigley — Rev. G. J. Kredel — Rev. Wm. N. Barber —Rev. B. Peters — Rev. Giles Bailey — Memoranda — Parsonage — Standards — F. S. Boas — Symbolic Painting — Church Bell — Sunday School — The Lord's Benediction.

UNIVERSALISM IN READING.

JUNE, 1829, Rev. T. Fiske preached twice in Reading. Besides the novelty of the theme and the eloquence of the speaker, there were special reasons why he should be well received. Rev. Charles G. Finney had been there with his wild revivalism, and so many people had been disgusted with his extravagant and abusive measures that they elected him a constable of the borough, as an indignity, and many of them stretched forth the hand of welcome to a more rational Evangelist.

Better still: Mr. Fiske became acquainted with several branches of the Keim family, descendants of the elder George de Benneville, and they were more than pleased by the visit of a representative of the faith of their ancestor.

The Ritters, especially John, who was a lib-

eral man of wide influence, editor of the *Reading Eagle*, a German paper of large circulation, heartily greeted the stranger; and there were some difficulties in one of the dominant churches which alienated several of the Boas family and inclined them to sympathize with the Universalists.

Without doubt, there was vigorous hostility to the new thought, but a cause having the countenance of such social authority as the foregoing, was not readily scandalized and put down by either sinners or saints.

In the early part of August, 1829, Rev. O. Whiston, of New York, preached one Sunday in Reading.

One year later, came Rev. William L. Hawley, a wandering preacher, a convert from the Methodists in Kentucky, as he claimed. He had been in New York city, and was sent to Hightstown, N. J., in the early part of August, 1830, as a substitute; and thence he seems to have made his way to Reading — probably with a letter of introduction from Mr. Fiske. He was a man of stirring ability in speech, and attracted crowded audiences in the Commissioners' Hall, corner of the public square.

In that Hall, Sept. 15, 1830, the Philadelphia Association of Universalists met, and intensified the interest already manifested in the cause of Universalism. It was my first visit to my native county of Berks, in my capacity as a

preacher, and very pleasant has always been the memory of the occasion.

The influence of that session of our Association was made visible in the purchase of a lot on Franklin Street, and the corner-stone of a meeting-house was laid, August 12, 1831.

— In the progress of Mr. Hawley's ministry, Jacob Bishop Crist published a pamphlet entitled "The Fog of Universalism dissipated by the Light of Truth." By request of the Universalists I furnished a Review of twenty-four close octavo pages, which was printed by John Ritter, entitled "Shipwreck of Partialism." Explanatory of the metaphor, I here insert the preface, bearing the title

CAUSES OF THE SHIPWRECK.

The Clerical Pilots residing in Reading have been aware for a year past that Partialism is a crazy old vessel, that should long ago have been condemned as unseaworthy. To keep the people in ignorance of this fact, they have laid at anchor in the Bay of Assertion, shrouded in the mist of Mystical Theology, with every sail furled, and all hands employed to keep the vessel afloat. It must not be concealed, however, that once or twice they ventured in boats a little distance from their anchorage into the Sea of Controversy, but soon perceiving that they were in danger of sinking, owing to the weight of their ammunition, which they did not feel free to cast overboard, the Pilots hastily ordered a retreat to the Ship.

In the meantime, many of their most worthy mariners left their service, having no desire to remain in so leaky

a vessel, where provisions are scarce in quantity and offensive in quality.

Recently, a Clerical Pilot presented himself, and offered his services to navigate the Sea of Controversy in the Ship Partialism. He declared that he distinctly saw The Fog of Universalism — at least he was sure he saw a Fog — and expressed a determination to bear down upon it, and either dissipate or sink it, so that it should be seen no more for ever.

Immediate orders were given for weighing anchor. The sails were all set, the Pilot took the helm, and the Ship put out to Sea under a press of canvas. But, alas for the Pilot, the vessel and the crew! The Sea ran high, and before they were aware of the danger, the Ship struck on *The Rock of Truth*, and went to pieces!

It is more than probable that the disaster above noticed will be attributed to indiscretion, or perhaps to a want of experience and skill on the part of the Pilot, and not to any defect in the Ship. But it is believed that the Pilot was not in fault. If the remaining clergy, who have had more experience, will gather the broken pieces of the vessel, and rebuild it, enter it themselves, venture on the Sea of Controversy, and steer in the same direction, they will meet with a similar fate. *The Rock of Truth* stands firm and immovable. We however can give them this assurance: "There shall be no loss of any man's life among you, but of the Ship."

At the session of the Philadelphia Association in Easton, Oct. 15, 1831, Mr. Hawley withdrew from the ministry in Pennsylvania, and went South.

Sunday, April 22, 1832, the Universalist Church in Reading was dedicated. It was described at the time as being "commodious and elegant," and "the Society, in respectability and

numbers, is excelled by few in our connection." The sermon on the occasion was delivered by "Rev. C. Robinson, late of Woonsocket Falls, R. I." The lot fell upon *him*, because Mr. Fiske suggested that he might probably take pastoral charge of the Society. He attended the organization of the Pennsylvania Convention in Columbia, May, 1832, and preached, which is the latest I know of him as a clergyman.

Rev. Asher Moore was settled as pastor in Oct., 1832, and continued one year.

Soon after the church was dedicated a Sunday School was commenced by "Father Stiles," a superannuated teacher of the secular order. There was a reorganization in the autumn of 1833, and only two persons then interested in it, (single at the time and afterwards married) now remain in the same connection. I uncover my head in the presence and in honor of such faithful souls as Lewis Briner and his wife. For more than thirty-eight years, without swerving and without interruption, they have stood in their volunteer-lot as Children of the Good Shepherd.

The Union Association was organized in Reading, Oct. 21, 1834. At one of the meetings for public worship, twenty members were added to the Church (or Society,) and at a visitation in December following there was an addition of thirteen members, Lewis Briner being one of the number. I have always reckoned

these among the inspirational scenes of my life. All the admissions were by the right hand of fellowship, accompanied by a very brief address to each, diversified throughout, yet unitary.

In noticing the occasion, in a list of Items of News, in the *Messenger* iv. 7, I find this additional record:

"My friend E. S. Ely has recently endeavored to get up an excitement in Reading. The revival occasion passed off without any conversions — at least I could not learn that any converts were made. Some of the Universalist brethren who attended the meetings, seem disposed to think that the Doctor is 'coming round.' They think that he preaches very good Universalism in some of his sermons."

This item was dated Dec. 13, 1834. Eight and a half years afterward, namely, July 26, 1843, there was a reproduction, substantially, of this statement — as we shall see in the order of time.

Nov. 1, 1835, Rev. John Perry was settled in Reading. He removed to Philadelphia in the early part of Dec., 1838, having arranged to preach in Reading one-half the time. This engagement was however of brief duration, and the Society was destitute of stated preaching and a settled pastor until April, 1841. Many will remember this interim as covering a time of terrible commercial disaster in all the land. Even men of the largest business repute were stricken down, hopelessly and helplessly.

Rev. Samuel Ashton officiated in Reading in March, 1841 — was elected pastor and installed April 7 — and continued in the office until the close of 1844, a term of three years and nine months.

In examination, preliminary to reorganization in 1840, it was discovered that a large debt, about eight thousand dollars, had accumulated, — all of which was cancelled by payment during Mr. Ashton's pastorate, chiefly in 1841.

In July, 1842, Rev. Thomas B. Thayer and the writer of this sketch, who had for three years been pastoral yoke-fellows in Lowell, Mass., were on a leisure visit to Maiden Creek in Berks County and Pottsville in Schuylkill County, taking Reading in the way. Mr. Thomas preached in that city one Sunday, and Mr. Thayer on the Sunday following — the latter an occasion to be long remembered.

During the entire administration of Mr. Ashton, the religious world was at fever heat by reason of prophecies that the end of all things was at hand in a general conflagration. The Universalists, not believing in any such catastrophe, greatly improved their house of worship, and prosperity and enthusiasm were mutually productive agencies in the Gospel Family. The church was reoccupied in Sept., 1843.

On the 26th of July preceding, the following scrap appeared in *The Spy*, published in Columbia, Pa., and was extensively copied:

"Rev. Dr. Ely of the Presbyterian Church, who held a discussion with Rev. A. C. Thomas some years ago, preached a sermon in the Universalist Church in Reading, Pa., a few weeks since, in the course of which he declared his belief that the doctrine of endless misery is not taught in the Bible."

The space between the dates clearly showed that this statement and *my* statement of Dec. 13, 1834, were entirely distinct. When I read the second, I did not consider it *probable* that Dr. Ely had relinquished his Presbyterian faith, yet when I recalled his acknowledgment that *but for one clause* in a Scriptural passage I had quoted in a certain discussion, the text would make him a Universalist, I thought it *possible* that he had at last come over to the side of the Lord. To make sure in the premises, I promptly wrote to Reading for information, and received substantially the following reply:

Some time during the winter of 1842–'43, Dr. Ely was in Reading. He preached in a Presbyterian Church, making some strong declarations against Universalism. Rev. Mr. Ashton, who was present, introduced himself to Dr. Ely at the close of the service, and expressed surprise that the Doctor should make such declarations, knowing as much as he did of Universalism. Mr. Ashton invited him to repeat the discourse in the Universalist Church, which invitation was declined, at that time, because of pressing engagements. The Doctor however promised to preach in Mr. Ashton's church when he came again, if it was desired.

In the summer of 1843 Dr. Ely was in Reading again, and called upon Mr. Ashton. He was now ready, he

said, to fulfil the promise made last winter. Accordingly he preached in the Universalist Church, a very good sermon, designed to show the certainty of punishment. Mr. Ashton complimented him on the excellence of his discourse, pronouncing it good enough Universalism for *him*. The interview was both cordial and courteous on both sides — a sample of what *should* be the intercourse of men who differ in creed.

— Mr. Ashton having withdrawn in the close of 1844, Rev. A. B. Grosh assumed pastoral charge of the Society, April 1, 1845, and continued until the close of 1849, a term of four years and nine months. — In Dec., 1847, Rev. J. S. Palmer removed the printing and publishing office of the *Gospel Missionary* from Montrose to Reading — an unwise measure, as he shortly discovered. In the close of May, 1848, the list was transferred to the *Christian Ambassador*. — Mrs. Hannah Grosh, wife of Rev. A. B. Grosh, departed this life, Nov. 10, 1849. She was one of the kind friends of my early manhood in Marietta, and I feel every pulse of grateful memory, even now, in the mention of her name.

— June 1, 1850, Rev. James Shrigley assumed charge of the church. Immediately on his acceptance of the invitation, a few months earlier, the people proceeded to remodel the interior of their meeting-house — including a session room in the basement — nor did they cease until they had made it one of the neatest places of worship in Reading, at a cost of two thousand dollars.

— Rev. G. J. Kredel, an Evangelical Protestant clergyman, a Universalist in sentiment, preached in the Universalist Meeting-House soon after his arrival from Germany, namely, in August, 1851. He was an excellent speaker, and evidently a man of both talent and education. He organized among the Germans a society called the Evangelical Association or Church, also a Sunday-School, and had free use of the Universalist Meeting-House and Session Room at times not interfering with our own institutions. This continued for about a year. Mr. Kredel then removed to Alleghany city.

Pastor from 1850 to 1854, Rev. James Shrigley.
" 1854 to 1856, " J. T. Goodrich.
" 1856 to 1858, " James Shrigley.
" 1858 to 1866, " Wm. N. Barber.

Upon the retirement of Mr. Barber in 1866, the pulpit was supplied by Rev. Hope Bain, J. H. Amies, J. T. Goodrich, A. C. Thomas, James Shrigley, T. B. Thayer, J. V. Wilson, A. Bosserman, C. W. Tomlinson, N. C. Hodgdon — and then came Rev. Dr. Thayer on an engagement of four months. Preparatory to his coming, and in full expectation of a special blessing on his ministry, the meeting-house was again remodelled and greatly improved, at an expense of $3000.

On his return to New England in April, 1868, there was renewedly a series of supplies: Rev. A. C. Thomas, E. G. Brooks, Wm. M. Delong,

Henry Jewell, and B. Peters. The last-named was elected pastor, which position he occupied from Sept., 1868 to May, 1869, when he returned to Brooklyn, N. Y., to take editorial charge of a daily paper. Then came another series of supplies: A. C. Thomas, A. Bosserman, H. C. Leonard, J. H. Amies, Giles Bailey. The last-named was elected pastor, Nov., 1869 — which position he now occupies, 1872.

MEMORANDA.

There was a re-organization of the Universalist Society in Reading, in 1840. Of the eight preceding years of its history (incorporated May 29, 1832) only six months of the records (from Dec., 1835 to July, 1836) could be found. Since the re-organization the minutes have been regularly kept and preserved.

The Universalist Parsonage was bought in 1857, the title being of date March 27.

Of the original standards,

John Ritter died	Nov. 14, 1851	aged	72 : 9 : 18
George de B. Keim died	Aug. 20, 1852	in	74th year
Daniel H. Boas died	Octob. 6, 1852	aged	52 : 0 : 8
Mother Ritter died	Aug. 13, 1863	aged	80 : 9 : 25

Frederick S. Boas became a member of the Society on the last Sunday in March, 1851. When the father died, (he was a man of remarkable executive ability) the son, though but a youth, stepped into the vacancy, and has been one of the most prompt and influential members of the

Society and of the Sunday School from that day until now.

The history of the symbolic painting in the church in Reading is this: Back of the pulpit, as the Lombard St. Church in Philadelphia was originally constructed, there was a blank space, concealed by a Venetian blind, arranged for correspondence with the window in the north side.

In 1830, a young lady in Boston made a small neat drawing of a pair of scales, with the inscription, "As in Adam all die, EVEN SO in Christ shall all be made alive"—the words here in small capitals being beneath the beam, showing the two members of the sentence to be of equal weight—that is, of precise balance. This drawing was lithographed, I believe. At all events, having a copy, I engaged an artist to make a painting of it, on a canvas exactly to fill the blank space above mentioned, say six feet by four. Only this: We added an all-seeing eye, a hand pushing forward into the light—and retiring clouds beneath, with the inscription, "A just God and a Saviour." This painting was presented to the church in Oct., 1831.

It will readily be imagined that I took advantage of the interest excited by this really beautiful and impressive symbolical argument. I did so by a series of sermons: 1. The Lord seeth not as man seeth. The Lord sees the whole—man sees only a part, &c. 2. "*Even so,*" illus-

trated by 1 Cor. xv. 22, Romans v. 18–21, and other passages. 3. The Golden Rule: "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye *even so* to them, for this is the law and the prophets." 4. The harmony of justice and mercy — also of Prayer and Praise. 5. Thou art weighed in the balances, and found wanting — of course applied to all schemes of orthodox theology. — Even now, my memory tingles with the glow of that era of evangelizing.

When the pulpit was removed to the west end of the church (1836) that painting was placed in the vestibule. It now adorns the session room.

Our excellent and long-since departed friend, George de Benneville Keim, of Reading, was so pleased with the picture that he deputed me to procure a copy of it, enlarged, as a present to our church in that city. On placing it in position, I repeated the series of discourses above referred to.

— The church-bell was presented by George M. Keim, soon after the church was erected. Years later he was estranged by some misjudgment in the Society, but he always insisted that "he had not abandoned the principle but only the administration." The same was true of his father, above named.

My first knowledge of the Keims was at our meetings in the Commissioners' Hall in Sept., 1830. George M., as I remember, was greatly

moved by several of the discourses, and declared that he had never before believed such luxury of religious feeling possible. Afterwards involved in the contests of political life, this experience diminished, but he never forgot nor failed to recognize the beauty and power of faith in the final reconciliation of all souls. He was a gentleman of fine talent and education, and an enthusiast in mineralogy and the fine arts. He was a member of Congress for several years, as was also John Ritter.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL.

Of the eight years from the reorganization of the Sunday School in 1833 to the settlement of a pastor in April, 1841, there was an aggregate pastorate of only four years; and during the last thirty-one years (up to 1872) there have been several terms of vacancy in the pulpit — yet from 1833 onward to this time, the Sunday School has never been discontinued, but has steadily kept on the even tenor of its way, without interruption and without intermission. Of all the pleasant memories of the Society in Reading, not one is more refreshing or invigorating than this.

That Sunday School has always been, and still is, the life of the church in membership and in spiritual power. I have not sought the exact figures, but it has contributed a very large number of members to the Society in the last thirty

years — many under every administration, but most during the pastorates of Mr. Ashton and Mr. Shrigley.

That School has also been of important service in material respects. In 1864 it purchased, with funds of its own accumulation, the lot of ground in the rear of the church, at the sum of $400, and during 1871 erected upon the same an extension containing two long-needed rooms for the Bible Class and infant department, at an expense of $1600, including improvements to the yard and surroundings — every dime of which was raised and paid by the Sunday School, distinct and separate from the Society organization. Is not this the Lord's blessing?

Isaiah xliv. 3-5.

"I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground: I will pour my spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring: And they shall spring up as among the grass, as willows by the water courses. One shall say, I am the Lord's, and another shall call himself by the name of Jacob; and another shall subscribe with his hand unto the Lord, and surname himself by the name of Israel."

CHAPTER X.

Hightstown — Daniel Johnes — Samuel C. Johnes — Richard Norton — Rev. S. C. Henry — Upham Brothers — Cedar Grove School House — Rev. W. L. Hawley — Rev. T. J. Sawyer — An Association — To Good Luck — Second Visit — Gathering in an Orchard — John C. Ward — Third Visit to Good Luck — Old Baptist Meeting-House — Joseph J. Ely — Rev. John H. Gihon — Rev. Thomas J. Whitcomb — Rev. Asher Moore — Death of Samuel C. Johnes — Clara Barton — Rev. G. Collins — Death of Richard Norton — Rev. T. Fiske — Excelsior — Rev. H. R. Walworth — Rev. Abel C. Thomas — Rev. G. Collins — Death of Isaac Pullen — A New Church — Rev. E. Hathaway.

UNIVERSALISM IN HIGHTSTOWN.

RELLY'S HYMN BOOK, reprinted in Burlington, N. J., in 1776, has an appended list of subscribers. Among these I find Michael Mount of Imlaytown set down for nine copies, Peter Imlay and Barzello Grover of the same place for two copies each, Joseph Lawrence of Allentown for three copies, and Dr. Hezekiah Stites and Benjamin Ward, both of Cranberry, for two copies each.

In a list of subscribers to the *Free Universal Magazine*, a Universalist periodical edited by Rev. Abel Sarjent, commenced in New York in 1793, I find the name of Captain William Barton of Hidestown. Also the following names

at points not distant: Capt. Samuel Forman, Michael Mount, and others, Freehold. Dr. William Eugene Imlay, Tom's River. William Crawford, Middletown. Daniel Jones, Middlesex. Robert Jones, Imlaytown. Isaac Imlay, Allentown. Alice Brown and Empson Kirby, New Hanover. I omit Bordentown, Recklesstown, Mount Holly, &c., as being too distant for the purposes of this sketch.

In the front part of a copy of the *Everlasting Gospel*, Philadelphia edition of 1807, is the autograph of Daniel Johnes, May 20, 1813, in a bold, beautiful hand, written with his own blood. On the next leaf, dated 1819, appears the same autograph, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, also written in his own blood — these being the signs-manual, bright and clear this day, of the earliest avowed Universalist, residing in Hightstown or vicinity, of whom any of the present generation has knowledge.

If, however, we include the New Egypt section, we must except Alice Brown, converted in 1784, died in 1810. Also Robert Lawrence, who preached or exhorted in 1800 and later, and died in 1834. Even the latter cannot be considered an exception, if the Daniel Johnes of whom I write, born in 1741, was the Daniel Jones of Middlesex, set down in the list of subscribers aforesaid, in 1793.

Numerous marginal references and comments throughout the copy of Siegvolk's treatise, at-

test the glowing earnestness with which the owner held the doctrine of Universal Restitution. An old Welsh Bible in possession of Bergen Johnes, and another book in possession of John C. Ward, both once belonging to the ancient believer, have marginal commentaries in the same vein. The divine thought was to him the full sum of aspiration and faith, lifting him perpetually into devotional peace and praise.

— Richard Norton's earliest married life was on a farm adjoining the premises of Daniel Johnes. In the close intimacy which ensued, the old man, full of light and love, often entangled his young neighbor in controversy, and the latter set himself diligently at work to convert the former. It was a pity, he thought, that so good a man as *Uncle Daniel* should be in gross delusion. — How long he was about it, does not appear, but the conversion went the other way!

July 5, 1823, Daniel Johnes died in the victory of the redeemed, in the eighty-first year of his age, leaving only his son, Samuel C. Johnes, and Richard Norton as the representatives of Universalism in the neighborhood. The son was constantly true to his convictions and their utterance, but the duty of controversy rested chiefly upon his co-worker, who had become well-nigh proverbial as a disputant.

Neither of them had in the first instance the sympathy of his wife. Both these faithful

women had been educated in the Presbyterian communion, but they gradually outgrew the olden creeds, and were heart and hand with their husbands in the Gospel of Bethlehem.

Rev. Symmes C. Henry preached the funeral sermon of Daniel Johnes in the Presbyterian Church in Cranberry, from a passage the old man had given him several years before, 1 Cor. xv. 56, 57; and it was long remembered that the clergyman appeared to be embarrassed, either by the text, or by a church creed as applied to the case of a man who, though a life-long Universalist, was everywhere honored for personal and social qualities.

—About 1826, or somewhat earlier, two young men, William and Hiram Upham, established themselves in what may be considered the neighborhood, as teachers. They taught in several different school-houses, Perrineville, (then called Jacksonville,) Clarksburg, and at the old brick meeting-house near William R. Hutchinson's, in Millstone Township, Monmouth County — also in other localities in the region. They were men of more than ordinary intelligence, exemplary life, and of excellent grade in their profession. Their home for about fifteen years was in the family of Samuel Vaughan, a farmer near Perrineville.

These young men were from New England, and were open, fearless advocates of Universalism, Hiram being more prominent than his

brother William. They were the means of bringing many thoughtful people into the conviction and acknowledgment of the final restitution of all things. — William died on a farm purchased by Hiram near Clarksburg. The survivor sold the property and removed to the West. A letter dated Nov. 15, 1848, addressed to Joseph J. Ely, is the last heard from or of him. — I am happy to say so much as this respecting these brothers. They honored the faith they professed, and imparted both light and strength to many souls.

— About 1828, a number of people residing within certain limits, feeling themselves not-well accommodated with educational privileges, decided to erect a school-house on the south-west corner of Col. Johnes' farm — which happened to be a central point for several Universalist families. Opposers, fearing it might be used as a Universalist meeting-house, succeeded in passing a resolution that no sect or denomination should be allowed to worship in the premises — a resolve strictly enforced until a few years ago, when the Baptists organized a Sunday School there, and occasionally held an afternoon meeting for worship. As the decree had been broken, the Universalists thought that sinners might lawfully do what the saints had done. To cut off the reasonable plea, the Baptist Sunday School was dissolved, and meetings for worship discontinued. This is known as the Cedar Grove School House.

Though unsectarian, that school-house had for years the ill or good repute of Universalism, partly because a reasonable representation of the liberal order was always among the trustees, and because some of the early teachers were well-known Universalists. Hiram Upham was the first teacher in that school-house, and William Upham afterwards taught there, while the brothers kept store at Perrineville.

— On the numbers (stitched together) of the *Gospel Herald* for 1829, there is written the name *R. Norton*, without any Post Office direction, and I judge that the papers for two or more subscribers had been mailed in one envelope.

Rev. T. Fiske, the editor of that paper, a most diligent missionary in his early life, had an appointment in Hightstown in the early part of August, 1830. Other engagements preventing fulfilment, personally, he sent Rev. W. L. Hawley. This wanderer, a convert from the Methodists in Kentucky, had some difficulty in reaching Hightstown from Princeton; but, either because he was heedless of expense or because he could not get along on easier terms, he hired a coach and four horses for his purpose. The vehicle was one of the yellow-bodied stages used in that day; and my informant, though a mere lad at the time, well remembers seeing it pressing along the row of cedars leading to the house of Col. Johnes, where the meeting was to be held.

Mr. Hawley was an off-hand speaker of much

vitality in manner and force in argument; and his sermons, we may assume, were as joyfully acceptable to some as religiously offensive to others of his auditors.

— In the autumn of 1830 came Rev. T. J. Sawyer of New York, and preached in the house of Richard Norton — probably more than one sermon, and perhaps elsewhere; for the people of that day were not wont to be content with less than line upon line and precept upon precept. To one, however, of his auditors — at least one — the testimony was not satisfactory, for he declared he would not cross Old York Road to hear such preaching as that! Erelong he learned to love Universalism, and he honored and supported it to his dying hour — and afterward. I refer to Isaac Pullen.

In the autumn of 1831 Rev. Mr. Sawyer was there again, and spent a week.

— The Philadelphia Association of Universalists met in Easton, Pa., Oct. 15, 1831, and the adjournment for the session of 1832 was to Princeton, N. J. This was done at the suggestion of Rev. T. Fiske. He had preached in Princeton on Friday evening, Sept. 4, 1829 — a fact which he announced editorially, with the characteristic heading, "The lion bearded in his den" — accompanied by a belligerent letter, and an assurance that he would be there again on the 27th — challenging the whole College, &c. In the *Herald* of Oct. 10, 1829, is the intimation

that "some account of our second visit to Princeton will probably be given in our next" — but no such account appeared.

The date for the session of our Association approached — Mr. Fiske did not appear to take part in the assault proposed — I knew no one in Princeton — and so, as Standing Clerk, I assumed the responsibility of changing the appointment to Hightstown — notifying whom it might concern, that the session would be held at the house of Samuel C. Johnes.— I do not now remember what led me to this liberty, but presume I had heard favorably respecting the Universalists of that neighborhood, and did not doubt that they would make us welcome: To which must be added that Rev. S. J. Hillyer had an appointment there for June 24, 1832.

It is probable that as the date of the Association drew nigh, I had an understanding with both Mr. Hillyer and Rev. L. F. W. Andrews — for the former appointed to preach in Hightstown on Sunday, Sept. 30, and the latter on Sunday, Oct. 7 — the session claiming the intermediate Wednesday and Thursday.

It would seem, too, that I had had some correspondence with Hightstown friends — for on Friday following the Association, Richard Norton and James G. Ely accompanied me to Tom's River (where I preached in the evening) and the next day to Good Luck, where I preached in Potter's Meeting-House on Sunday, Oct. 7.

Philo Price, proprietor and one of the editors of the *Christian Messenger*, was present at our Association; and in an account which he published he wrote thus: "In this place we have many worthy and zealous brethren. Ten or twelve of them have journeyed with us through the year of our editorial labors, as readers of our paper," &c.

Our gatherings for public worship were in private houses — partly of choice, for we had learned that our most glowing religious experience was in private dwellings, school-houses, &c.; and partly of necessity, for application for the use of "consecrated ground" was refused — by no one more tartly than by Rev. Symmes C. Henry of Cranberry. He was a devout man of undeniable learning and eloquence, and of commanding influence in all the region round about. He was *entitled* to social sway, for he had devoted his life to the services of a country parish, setting aside all temptation to accept a city location.

We did not know at the time of our interview with him, but learned soon afterwards, that Hiram Upham had written a letter to Mr. Henry, Sept. 10, 1832, of this purport: In June preceding, Mr. Henry had preached in the pulpit of the unfortunate William H. Woodhull,* and

*Mr. Woodhull, pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Perrineville, had been ejected, I know not for what reason or cause.

believers in God's universal grace felt that he had reviled *them* and misrepresented their sentiments, in his sermon. Will you consent to a discussion with a Universalist clergyman?

The receipt of this letter, followed within two weeks by a direct personal challenge, was probably a little more than a man in his position could patiently bear. I may say, too, that he lived long enough to see the folly of opposing heresy by the strong hand, and that *I* have lived long enough to be more considerate than I once was, of the hostile prejudices of mankind.

— In Dec., 1832, Mr. Salmon C. Bulkeley (who afterwards entered our ministry) took charge of the Cedar Grove School. He boarded at Richard Norton's, and there he preached his first sermon. He also preached elsewhere in the neighborhood, occasionally.

— Monday evening, May 13, 1833, there was a Universalist gathering in Hightstown, and next day Rev. T. J. Sawyer, Andrews, Hillyer, Moore, and Thomas, and several laymen, were taken by Richard Norton and Samuel C. Johnes to Tom's River, where we had a sermon in the evening — and on Wednesday four sermons were preached in Potter's Meeting-House, Good Luck. On the same day we erected a tomb-stone in memory of the good man. The stone, prepared in Norwalk, Conn., had been forwarded to Hightstown, and was thence carried to its destination in the wagon of Col. Johnes.

— In Sept., 1833, in the old Methodist meeting-house that stood on the bank of the mill-pond in Milford, Rev. Mr. Bull, a Methodist clergyman, made a vehement and violent assault on Universalism. Mr. Bulkeley took notes of both tirade and argument, and on Monday afternoon, Sept. 16, I reviewed the assailant: "He that is first in his own cause seemeth just, but his neighbor cometh and searcheth him," Prov. xviii. 17. The great gathering of people was in the orchard of Col. Johnes. Extemporized seats and benches, and trees and surrounding carriages filled with an interested auditory, were enough, it would seem, to quicken the occupant of the wagon-pulpit into searching thought; and it is doubtful whether any neighborhood incident has been more vividly preserved among the traditions of that region.

Often in memory have I stood in the midst of that orchard-scene, and considered what would probably have been the result, had an average pastor and preacher of our order been settled at that time in Hightstown as his centre. Many influential men and families who afterwards (by social considerations chiefly) connected themselves with the orthodox congregations, were with us, at least in sympathy, and even now are not far from the kingdom of heaven; and the young people, as they grew into maturity, found a religious home among their kindred according to the flesh. The wonder is, not that so few,

relatively, but that so many, took position and have stood so firmly on the eternal rock. Through good report and through evil report, in sunshine and in shadow, they kept the faith, and their children rise up and call them blessed.

Many of them have passed into the communion of worshippers on high. Of the few who remain, there can be nothing invidious in naming John C. Ward. Of influential position, the social circles of all the popular churches have ever been open to him, with assurance of a cordial reception, but rather would he go forth into an encampment with a few who hold fast the truth, than to be embosomed with those who doubt, or deny, or limit the loving-kindness of the Lord.

— Jan. 5, 1834, Rev. S. J. Hillyer preached; and May 20, on our way to Good Luck and on our return, there was preaching at several points, prominently at New Egypt and in Hightstown. John Meirs and Samuel C. Johnes furnished both conveyance and company to Potter's Church, — Rev. C. F. Le Fevre, S. W. Fuller, Moore, and Thomas, being the ministers.

— In March, 1834, the Baptist Church, desiring to erect a new brick meeting-house, sold the old frame building. It was bought by the elder Dr. McChesney, who passed it into the hands of the Universalists, and Major Cook presented them a desirable lot, to which it was removed, fitted up neatly, and dedicated anew,

August 10, 1835. Services by Rev. C. F. Le Fevre, L. C. Marvin and Abel C. Thomas. Sermon by the first-named: "The glory of this latter house shall be greater than the former, and in this place I will give peace, saith the Lord of Hosts," Haggai ii. 9.

The Baptists would hardly consent to the application of the text. They supposed the old building had been bought for service as a barn, and were not pleased that it should be held forth by the Universalists, in memory of one who was born in a manger. It seemed almost a desecration of the ancient edifice. Men of most acidity deplored that it had not been run into the mill-pond, (a destructive baptism,) or put to the baptism of fire. There were persons, however, of more catholic mould, who had the faith to see, and the manliness to acknowledge, that there might be value in even a Universalist Church in the village.

— *James G. Ely* departed this life Nov. 15, 1835, aged thirty-five years. He was one of my companions on my first pilgrimage to Good Luck, and I have very happy memories of the sunny cheerfulness with which he beguiled the tedium of that journey through The Pines.

— From the date of the Philadelphia Association, Oct. 3, 1832, to the day of the dedication, August 10, 1835, there had been occasional preaching in the village and neighborhood, and after the dedication, and during 1836 and 1837,

the meetings, though much more frequent than before, did not average more than one Sunday in a month. I find the names of Le Fevre, Perry, Halleck, Marvin, Hillyer, Lyon, (the last-named statedly for a year, personally or by exchange,) and doubtless there were others, whose appointments did not appear in the *Messenger.*

— Dated April 11, 1835, I find a letter to Rev. Levi S. Beebee, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Upper Freehold, N. J., by Joseph J. Ely, Esq. It is a review of a sermon delivered March 15 preceding, taken in memoranda. Though written during "a very busy season with the farmers," and somewhat diffuse, the letter is a comprehensive exposition of the principal passages of Scripture urged against Universalism. It was first published in the *Christian Messenger,* and afterward had large circulation in pamphlet form.

Mr. Ely, though "nervously affected," and therefore unfitted for oral discussion, was a vigorous controversialist with the pen, and had more than usual resources in self-education, extensive reading and a retentive memory — as must be conceded by all who have read his numerous essays and letters, on a variety of subjects and on many occasions, even until now.

Rev. J. H. Gihon preached in Hightstown, Nov. 5, 1837 — also in Jan., 1838 — and Feb. 7, 1838, he was installed as pastor. His engagement was one half the Sundays in Hightstown,

and the other half at New Egypt and New Brunswick, alternately — to which he added many missionary services. He eked out a livelihood by teaching school in Cedar Grove — and returned to Philadelphia in the close of 1839.

Until the spring of 1838 the Universalists of Hightstown and vicinity seem to have been held together by doctrinal and social affinities, without any formal recognition — a defect remedied, April 6, 1839, by the regular organization of the Universalist Society.

For a year or more, there were meetings frequently, and the Philadelphia Association met in Hightstown in the spring of 1841. During that exciting era, Rev. Abel Fletcher, though energetically engaged in Philadelphia and its vicinity, resided in Hightstown for a space, and officiated statedly one Sunday in a month until the autumn of 1842. Immediately afterward, he appeared to be moving northward. I judge that he subsequently found a home on a plantation in Virginia, where he occupied a separate cottage or cabin adjacent to the mansion-house. During the late war, such a habitation was ransacked by wild troops, and furniture of every sort, and a stock of manuscript sermons, were scattered around in utter confusion. The sermons were the lawful property of Rev. Abel Fletcher, an absentee. Chaplain Collins brought me two of them.

— In the close of May, 1844, Rev. Thomas J. Whitcomb (whose two daughters are particularly remembered for their musical abilities) became pastor, and continued until August, 1846 — having the help of the Philadelphia Association in April, 1845 — in which connection I record the organization of the New Jersey Convention in Newark, July, 1845.— Following the removal of Mr. Whitcomb, there was no settled pastor in Hightstown for twenty months, and I have very stinted memoranda as to the service of occasional preachers.

— April 1, 1848, Rev. Asher Moore took charge. There was increase in the congregation, in both numbers and vitality — early fruitage, we may say — but the support of public worship, as before, depended mainly on the standards.

One of these, *Samuel C. Johnes*, died July 30, 1848, aged fifty-eight years. A seemingly slight accident with a farm-fork developed into tetanus and death. He was understandingly and religiously a Universalist, upright in demeanor and strong in influence. As seen in the repose of his faculties there was sternness and even severity in his countenance, yet there are few men anywhere of a gentler spirit and none of more unpretending, winning address.

January 23, 1851, Mr. Moore's two sons came to a sad end. The elder lad broke through the ice of a mill-pond: The younger went to his rescue, and both perished. The funeral service

was by Rev. William S. Balch: "Lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided." — After a pastorate of three and a half years, Mr. Moore relinquished charge, Oct., 1851, and resort was had, as before, to temporary arrangements for pulpit ministry.

— Two children of Richard Norton, being at school in the Clinton Liberal Institute, formed the acquaintance of a Universalist young lady, recently a graduate in that seminary — which acquaintance resulted in her acceptance of an invitation to take charge of the Cedar Grove School. She came in Oct., 1851, and remained seven months, teaching two terms, having her home in Richard Norton's family.

The school had earned an ill-repute for rudeness, and it was doubted, at the first, whether a woman could hold it in check. She began with assuming that no one was fit to teach who could not preserve order by commanding respect, without recourse to the rod; and she demonstrated her theory of control, for she never even *threatened* punishment, but ruled by the force of mind and love. It is doubtful whether one of her scholars can be found, who, after the lapse of more than twenty years, does not revere her memory and acknowledge that her influence has been a life-long blessing.

The name of *Clara Barton* has since been sounded in all the civilized world, as one of the ministering angels of humanity. With the sick,

the dying, the dead, in hospitals and on fields of battle, in our own land and more recently on the bloody arenas of France and Germany, that self-possessed, earnest woman, has exhibited a wealth of self-sacrificing usefulness not excelled in the annals of the nations.

— In the winter of 1853–'54, and later, Rev. G. Collins officiated frequently, and for a season statedly on alternate Sundays, in Hightstown; and in the summer of 1855 extensive alterations and improvements were made in the old meeting-house.

— *Richard Norton* departed this life on Sunday morning, Dec. 2, 1855, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. He was a Quaker-Universalist, of singular force and simplicity of speech, known as *Friend Richard*, and no man was more highly esteemed.— A few days before his decease, a neighbor of differing faith had much conversation with him on Universalism.

"Perhaps," said the former, as an apology for ill success in the argument, "perhaps I do not understand the Scriptures as well as you do. I have had to work so hard all my life, that I have had no time to study them."

To which the dying Universalist made this characteristic reply: "I have worked as hard as thee ever did. Thy trouble is that thee has not worked in the right ground."

Friend Richard, though holding the convincements of the inner light, was strong in the letter;

and though he was brought low by severe sufferings, no murmur showed him walking in painful mystery, but every outward testimony was of an inward mastery.

—In June, 1856, Rev. T. Fiske commenced to preach in Hightstown, and continued to officiate, on alternate Sundays, for nearly three years, residing meanwhile in Philadelphia.

During his administration, in the winter of 1856–'57, a little daughter of William R. Norton died, and the announcement of the day of burial took the course usual in the neighborhood: Notice was sent to the several churches to be read from the pulpit, with an invitation for the attendance of the congregation. The Baptist Minister, Rev. Mr. Barker, declined to read it, on some bigoted pretence: Rev. Mr. Green, the Methodist pastor, read it, but advised his audience to be absent on the occasion. There was at the time no Presbyterian Church in Hightstown, but Mr. Symmes of Cranberry read it without scruple.

The unmanly conduct of two Christian ministers, in this civilized age, awakened deep indignation, not only among Universalists, but in the souls of many people of no sect, as well as in the bosom of the Baptist Church. Out of the circumstance grew a controversy in the *Village Record.* It was a one-sided affair, the articles of the Universalists being refused insertion, even as advertisements. Thus hemmed in, "The Independent Association of Hightstown" commenced the publication of *The Hightstown Excelsior*, not sectarian, but a seeker of fair play to all concerned. The first number was issued June 1, 1857, Charles M. Norton, editor for three years. Afterward Charles W. Mount and Daniel Taggart, were successively and severally in editorial charge. During the pressure of the War of the Rebellion, the two papers

were united as *The Hightstown Gazette.* There need be no tracing of its business interests. The object of the Association was gained, greatly to the credit of its members, and the village paper is now conducted on principles of equity. It is not probable that the evangelical churches will ever repeat their experiment of intolerable intolerance.

— *Nathaniel Cox* died Nov. 12, 1857, aged fifty-four years. He was one of the youngest of the early converts to Universalism, remarkable for his verbal memory of the Scriptures. When engaged in controversy, there was continual flow of texts, with book, chapter and verse. Even punctuation was not regarded in the accumulation of proofs from the Bible.

— In the spring of 1860, Rev. H. R. Walworth accepted an invitation to the pastorate in Hightstown. There seemed, however, to be no permanency in that relation — for he resigned in August, 1861. — Nearly two years later there was trial of an arrangement of a different order: In April, 1863, Rev. Abel C. Thomas removed to Hightstown for recuperation. He was not willing to engage as pastor, nor to be a stated supply, but would be strictly a volunteer preacher, one sermon every Sunday.

— *Dr. Jonathan E. McChesney* departed this life Oct. 18, 1864, aged sixty years. He was a man distinguished in his profession, and of high social esteem. During the later months of his life he was afflicted with a malignant tumor, which made him self-helpless. I shall never

forget the constant and kindly attentions of his neighbors in this hour of need.

— Mr. Thomas removed to Bridgeport, Conn., in the spring of 1865, and again the meeting-house was closed, excepting at intervals; but there was promise of sunshine even in the winter of 1866–'67, for Rev. G. Collins officiated statedly on alternate Sundays. A Church was organized, the Sunday School revived, the Ladies' Sewing Society established — and the project of a new meeting-house began to take shape in the purposes of the believers.

—*Isaac Pullen* departed this life, Dec. 13, 1867, in the sixty-third year of his age. At an early day he took a distinct, decided stand with the band of Universalists, strong in principle though few in number, and so continued to the end. His specialty in business was in nurseries and fruits, and no one will doubt that his enterprise indirectly enriched the neighborhood.

During several of the later years of his life he was sorely afflicted with organic derangements, yet he preserved serenity and even cheerfulness by the power of faith and will.

A few weeks preceding his departure, he charged me to preach his funeral sermon, and on a subsequent visit reminded me of my promise. "I will attend to it," was my answer — to which I added, "I have already selected the text. It is this: 'And Isaac went out to meditate in the fields at eventide.'"

Evidently perceiving the drift of my thought, he closed his blue eyes a few moments, and opened them with a kindling expression of approval. — There have been many cases where a dying man has charged the preacher to use a certain passage of Scripture to lead his sermon; but in few instances, I apprehend, has the preacher announced the text to a dying man.

Our departed friend celebrated his entrance into a house not made with hands, by the gift of one thousand dollars toward the erection of a new Universalist meeting-house on the earth, and the people accepted the situation and the conditions.

There was one obstruction: The lot was not of sufficient depth to set the contemplated edifice on a line with the Baptist Church, for liberal appearance in the village. There was a gore of land in the rear, belonging to but of small value to the Baptists, which the Universalists desired to purchase at any fair price — but the overture was rejected. The case is submitted to posterity, with this statement of the reason why the Universalist Meeting-House was not set back from the line of the street.

March 8, 1869, — after occupancy by the Baptists for about one-half of a century, and by the Universalists for nearly one-third of a century, — the old frame meeting-house was taken to pieces. After so long service, the timbers were mostly sound. — The corner-stone of a new

brick church was laid, June 30, 1869. The session room was dedicated and occupied, Oct. 21, 1869. The new church was dedicated Feb. 21, 1871.

Until the session room was in readiness, the congregation and Sunday School occupied Hutchinson's Hall; and here were delivered two lectures by P. T. Barnum and one by Horace Greeley in the early part of 1869, and one by Rev. Dr. Chapin in October — these being free-will offerings to the church-work in hand. The last-named preached the Sermon of Dedication; addresses were made by the former two; and Rev. A. C. Thomas had part in the ceremonial.

The cost of this structure, exclusive of many incidental contributions of work, was about $12,750 — of which the Ladies' Sewing Society furnished nearly $2000. — A Seminary Building was also erected on the premises, at a cost of about $1200. — The history of the Sunday School is a history of difficulties ending in triumph.

— Rev. E. Hathaway took pastoral charge, June 25, 1871.

CHAPTER XI.

Thomas Potter — His Death — Desire to Visit his Meeting-House — Way of getting to it — Through The Pines from Hightstown — Breaking in upon the Wilderness — Sermon in the Old Meeting-House — A Tomb-Stone — Memorial Acre — Conference of Sept. 28, 1870 — One Hundred Years — Interesting Record — Hon. Edwin Salter — Old Methodists — Church on the Coast — Waretown — Jacob Birdsall — Rev. James Gallager — A Bell — and use for it.

THROUGH THE PINES.

THOMAS POTTER died sometime during the revolutionary war, and Murray, who settled in New England in 1774, visited the home of his early experience, and preached a sermon in memory of the good man, his early friend and patron. This, as I judge, was shortly after the close of the war — probably in 1784.

From that date onward for nearly fifty years, no Universalist clergyman (so far as we have knowledge) had been upon the spot. Doubtless many besides myself had thought of a visitation to those almost consecrated scenes, but Good Luck was so far out of the world of travel, and so difficult to reach, that the discouragements overbalanced the inducements. A direct line from Philadelphia would require a journey of sixty miles through a dismal wilderness of pine-

clad sand-plains and dense cedar-swamps; and doing the best that could be done in a circuitous route, would demand private conveyance at large expense, or a tedious ride to and up the coast in a rude fish-wagon, consuming more time and money than the preachers of earlier times could conveniently spare.

The route from New York was easier to one who would put up with the discomforts of a wood shallop to Barnegat Inlet and Tom's River, together with weary miles of foot-travel through deep sand.

For two years I frequently pored over an atlas and maps of New Jersey, with my pencil on the words *Good Luck*, and talked with fishermen respecting Egg Harbor and Tuckerton, and of the means of getting there, and thence to Barnegat and beyond; but no plan or project seemed to suit until, in attendance at an Association, I fell into the hands of friends residing near Hightstown, N. J. I was indebted to Richard Norton and James G. Ely, neighbor-farmers and brother-Universalists, for conveyance and good company.

It was hardly credible that there could be such a wilderness in New Jersey, midway between the great cities of New York and Philadelphia. There was a house (or hovel) at long intervals, the residence of wood-choppers and charcoal-burners, (there being one furnace in the woods,) but wagon-tracks to and from the clearings

and coal-pits, and to and from everywhere, and to and from nowhere, and crossing at every conceivable angle, were enough to bewilder any traveller. There was strictly no highway, and all the roads (none wider than between carriage-wheels, and mostly with close borders of scrub-bushes) were alike.

By-and-by, after we had left the furnace-territory, the marks and crossings of civilization diminished, and at times it puzzled even my sharp-sighted companions to decide upon the course.

Of late years there has been a breaking in upon this wilderness, in spots. Bogs, long deemed not worth taxing, have proved highly remunerative in the line of cranberries; and wherever there is not more than six or eight inches of white sand overlying a yellow clayey loam, the latter within reach of a deep plough, there is compensating fertility — Vineland and Hammonton, for examples. There are however extensive districts in which you might dig deep without reaching the bottom of white sand.

Railroads have latterly penetrated many sections of The Pines, and ere long will link Sandy Hook with Cape May; but what must have been the condition of that region one hundred years ago? Seemingly shut in or shut out from the world, Murray was there in solitude, as though the Lord would fain make of him a hermit in a desolate wilderness!

Murray's preaching, southerly, was in Barnegat, Manahawkin, Tuckerton, &c., along the coast — northerly, along the coast to Cedar Creek and Tom's River: thence by way of Freehold to Amboy and New Brunswick to New York: Or, seeking Philadelphia, through Sharon, Imlaytown, New Hanover, and the fertile counties bordering on the Delaware — thus avoiding The Pines.

On Sunday morning, Oct. 7, 1832, I preached in the Potter Meeting-House, as before stated.

It could hardly be termed elegant. It was small, plain and not painted. Though constructed of the best cedar, the outsiding (1832) was worn very thin, and in some places was decayed. The large square pew of which Murray speaks as having been occupied by Potter and his family, had been removed, and simple benches substituted. The pulpit had been cut down at each end. In other respects the building remained in its original state.

Potter's grave, at the east end of the meeting-house, was pointed out by one of the oldest inhabitants of the neighborhood. It had been enclosed soon after his burial, but the fence was broken down about 1812, and two posts and a rail, very much decayed, were all that remained.*

* In May, 1833, a tomb-stone was erected to the memory of Potter, and the grave enclosed. The wooden palings were taken down in 1870, and an iron fence substituted. Shortly before, the New Jersey Convention had bought an acre of the adjoining grove. It is known as the Memorial Acre.

We found a few individuals at Good Luck, and also at Tom's River who had listened in their youth to the preaching of Murray; and several aged persons remembered having heard the circumstances related in his Life, but time was rapidly effacing the impression.*

— Passing intermediate meetings in the Potter Church, I must allude to a Conference held there, Sept. 28, 1870, being the one hundredth anniversary of the landing of Murray. It was the week next following the great Centennial Gathering at Gloucester, Mass., and we had only a small company at Good Luck, yet it seemed as if the Lord had specially made the day and the occasion as one of the times and the seasons which he holds in his own power. It appeared indeed as if Potter and Murray were walking again in that grove, and that each laid a hand of blessing upon the head of every believer in that assembly of worshippers.

INTERESTING RECORD.

Hon. Edwin Salter, a distinguished gentleman of New Jersey, (himself, I believe, affiliating with the Methodists,) a few years since published an article in the *Trenton Monitor*, from which I make the following extracts:

* I have copied or condensed this account from the N. Y. *Christian Messenger*, ii. 32; and whoso would read still further, may consult the *Christian Leader* of Christmas, 1869.

"A singular and interesting chapter in the religious history of our State, and one but little known, relates to a church formerly called the Potter Church, built about a century ago at Good Luck, by a benevolent resident of that village, named Thomas Potter.

"Before building the church, Potter had been in the custom of opening his house to travelling preachers of all persuasions, and, after a while, to accommodate them, he built this church, free for all denominations. His object is best expressed in his own words: 'As I firmly believe that all mankind are equally dear to Almighty God, they shall all be equally welcome to preach in this house which I have built.'

"After it was built it was used by travelling ministers of the Presbyterian, Baptist, Quaker, Methodist and other Societies, and in it was preached the first Universalist sermon ever delivered in America.*

"The Methodist Society in New Jersey owe a debt of gratitude to Thomas Potter for always opening his church to the noble pioneers of Methodism in the dark days of its history, when Methodism not only met with opposition from other Societies on account of difference in religious sentiments, but also when, during the Revolution, their enemies most unwarrantably slandered them by charging them with being in sympathy with Great Britain.

"Though these slanders had the effect of rendering the heroes of Methodism so unpopular that they could hardly obtain a hearing in most parts of the State, as well as in others, the Potter Church was

* The writer did not know of de Benneville.

always open to them, and so often used by them that some Methodist writers at the present day who have found the name of this church frequently mentioned in the journals of those pioneers, have concluded that it must have been a Methodist Church, though where it was situated, and why it was so called, they have been unable to divine.

"Among the preachers well-known in the annals of Methodism, who preached in it, were Benjamin Abbott and Bishop Asbury; and in it was married James Sterling, the most earnest, effective layman the Society had in its early struggles in New Jersey.

"This church property is now under the control of the Methodists. . . . When the Universalists express a desire to preach in it, the doors are generally open to them, and as long as the Trustees are thus liberal to them, as well as to other denominations, there certainly can be no occasion to question the title.

"An old gentleman brought up in the vicinity of the church, whose father was a neighbor and friend of Thomas Potter, informs me that Potter often told his neighbors, after he had built the church, that God would send a minister after his own heart, and that in Murray he found fulfilled his long-deferred expectations."*

* At our conference in Good Luck in May, 1834, a sketch of the Potter Meeting-House was made by Mr. Le Fevre. That sketch was copied in the preparation of the Demarest edition of the Life of Murray. The original edifice was taken down about 1842, and a larger house erected on nearly the same site. So much of the material of the old structure as could conveniently be used, was worked into the new.

WARETOWN.

Whoso journeys southward from Tom's River to Manahawkin will journey in the route of John Murray's early missionary life. There is little, even now, to charm the eye or to satisfy the inquiry, How did the people earn a livelihood in this region of sand and pines? Yet cedar-lumber and pine fire-wood, and fish and game for the New York market, getting to sea through Barnegat Inlet, brought money and every thing that money could buy to that out-of-the-world population.

For long years, moreover, reaching to this present date, vessels of small tonnage (as compared with long-voyage ships) were built at several points along the coast, and the active young men found employment as "coasters."

One of these, of Quaker-Universalist lineage on the father's side, being in charge of a vessel laden with corn, bound from Norfolk to Providence, had his attention vividly drawn to the history of Murray, by one of the passengers. The Captain, as he grew from boyhood into manhood, had frequently listened to arguments between his father and others, and was of opinion that his father always "had the best of it," dying at last in the triumphs of Universalism. But the communication of the passenger had new interest, because it had to do with Barnegat and "along shore."

The weather being thick at sea, the young Captain made harbor in New York, and afterward passed to Providence by Long Island Sound. During the delay, and at the end of his voyage, he sought diligently for the Life of Murray, but without success. On his next trip to New York he succeeded in his endeavors, Sept., 1840, — adding a copy of Ely and Thomas Discussion and a subscription for the *Christian Messenger* to his "stores."

We need not doubt the result. The land and the sea, and the heavens and life, seemed to have changed, but he knew that the only change was in *him*, — as witness the hand and seal of JACOB BIRDSALL; and when again he was at home in Waretown,* quitting the vessel in Nov., 1840, he spoke of the wonder-working Gospel, and found a few hearty sympathizers in the truth which had made him free.

In May, 1846, Rev. James Gallager, who had met Mr. Birdsall in New York, visited these believers with the olden cry of a prophet in the wilderness. During that visit of a week, he preached eight times in Waretown and vicinity.

This gifted and truly-anointed evangelist was born in Philadelphia, and reared in the midst of

*Deeds of 1769 show that the family name was Waeir. All the descendants spell and pronounce it Ware. I have seen it printed Waer on a map. When Government established a post-office there, the position of P.M. was offered to a resident of "the right politics." His letter of acceptance was dated Wiretown. That corruption is the official stamp.

many privations. Manhood found him with a very limited education, yet an urgent determination to fit himself (if possible) for even a lowly grade in the ministry of Universalism, enabled him to overcome many hindrances, and he became one of the most useful and honored brothers in our ranks. Of medium stature, and a temperament happily combining the sanguine and the nervous, mostly enjoying good health withal, his heart sang while his feet journeyed in the path of life. Noble in his principles of conduct and generous in his spirit, he made solitary places glad by his presence, and in every locality of his wide missionary circuits, and in his several pastoral settlements, Pottsville, Providence, Newark, Easton, Meriden, he is remembered as an earnest, devout Christian, of most amiable, energetic, upright demeanor. He departed this life in Hamilton, Ohio, July 11, 1857.

Eleven years after Mr. Gallager's visit to Waretown, the Gospel echoes were renewed by Rev. Eben Francis in the same temper and strain; and Rev. J. H. Campbell, and H. R. Walworth, and J. D. Cargill, and others, in harmonious testimony uttered the Holy Evangel, all of them in Waretown and some of them in the Potter Church at Good Luck. In March, 1867, Rev. G. Collins made a temporary arrangement for a stated supply, monthly, and May 4 of that year a Universalist Church (or Society) was organized.

Several ministers have since officiated, and it is of interest that I mention the organization of a Sunday School, July 25, 1869. It has been continued without interruption.

A building erected by a company in 1857 for a Select School, was bought by three of the number in 1865. In 1867 they donated the property to the Universalist Society as a Chapel. It has been tastefully fitted for that purpose.

I have great pleasure in recording that Marsh Brothers, Foundry men at Mt. Joy, Penna., in memory and in honor of John Murray, presented a bell weighing two hundred and fifty pounds, and that Rev. E. Hathaway is under engagement to answer its joyful worship-warning on the last Sunday in every month.

CHAPTER XII.

Rev. John Murray — Drs. Smith and Young — Rev. Abel Sarjent — Free Universal Magazine — Unitarian Universalism in 1793 — Rev. Edw. Mitchell — William Palmer — Duane St. Church — Rev. John Foster — Thurlow Weed — Dr. Francis — Henry Fitz — Gospel Herald — Prince St. Church — Rev. N. Dodge — Rev. Abner Kneeland — Rev. Adin Ballou — Herald, new series — Grand St. Church — An Association — Rev. B. Bates — Rev. T. Fiske — Corinthian Hall — Rev. Thomas J. Sawyer — Philo Price — Rev. S. J. Hillyer — Rev. A. C. Thomas — Orchard St. Church — Rev. Dr. Brownlee.

UNIVERSALISM IN NEW YORK.

THE circumstances of the landing of John Murray on the coast of New Jersey, detailed in his Memoirs, could not fail to make an impression on the minds of his fellow-mariners, and so genial were the manners of this remarkable man that these sons of the sea presumably made favorable if not enthusiastic reports concerning him, on their arrival in New York — the population of which, in 1770, did not much exceed fifteen thousand.

"The day had not closed in before a number of persons visited me, earnestly soliciting me to speak to them of the things of the kingdom. I was immeasurably astonished! Totally a stranger in the city, I could scarcely believe I was not in a dream. The boatmen, however,

having given an account of me on their arrival, the intelligence was wafted from one end of the city to the other; and the people being anxious to hear something new, and from a new preacher, became extremely importunate. I could not deny that I had preached, but I gave the solicitors to understand that I had absolutely engaged to return by the first opportunity, and that of course I was not at liberty to comply with their request. They promised they would insure me a speedy and eligible conveyance if I would consent to give them a discourse in the Baptist Meeting-House, and it became impossible to resist their persuasions. The house was thronged."

This Baptist Meeting-House was on Golden Hill, somewhere in what is now Gold Street. Rev. John Gano was at that time the pastor.

"Upwards of a week elapsed before the earnestly sought-for passage presented, during which period I preached frequently and to crowded houses. . . . Even the minister extended to me the hand of apparent friendship. . . . So soon as an opportunity presented I very cheerfully embraced it. . . . The winter now approached. . . . My worthy friend (Thomas Potter) was diligently gathering in the fruits of the earth."

Mr. Murray aided him in the labors of the fields, but earnest solicitations for his services as a preacher poured in from the Jerseys, Philadelphia and New York. To the latter city he again repaired. "The Baptist Meeting-House was again opened to me, and the congregations were very large. After a few weeks" he returned to Good Luck.

Early in 1771 Mr. Murray was in Philadelphia for the first time — remained a brief space and

returned to his home on the coast. And thus time passed on with the preacher: "Succeeding weeks and months rolled away, while my days were appropriated to the Jerseys, Philadelphia, New York, and many of the intervening towns."

"In the commencement of the autumn of 1772" * he started for Newport, spending some time in New York by the way: "During my residence in New York I became known to many gentlemen of Connecticut"—which fact marked New London and Norwich in the route to Newport—with the incidents of which our present history has nothing to do, excepting this: In Newport, where he preached, on Monday morning one of the committee "informed me that there came on Saturday night, from New York, a reverend divine who had given me a horrid character. . . . He is at the house of Mr. Rogers, father of the Rev. Mr. Rogers." The calumniator had fled, but the charges were these, substantially: "Mr. Murray had formerly labored for his living: he was a married man: had children: had been a stage-player: and had sung songs."

Was this one version of an old calumny revived fifty years afterwards?—namely: "John Murray was a weaver in Spitalsfield in England. He secreted himself on board of the vessel for

* The Memoir of Murray misprints it 1773. In the January next following his visit to Newport he was in Philadelphia, which is set down January, 1773.

two or three days. And he tried to impose himself on the Rev. Doctor Rogers of New York as a minister employed by Mr. Whitefield, but he was soon detected; and if you inquire what his deportment was in Boston, you may hear what will not be to his credit or your approbation."

These accusations were recorded and answered in the *Gospel Herald* of March 22, 1823, by Henry Fitz, as follows: In 1772 there were two John Murrays, clergymen, in New York, the one a Calvinist, the other a Universalist. It was common, in that day, to distinguish them as Damnation Murray and Salvation Murray. It was Damnation Murray who imposed himself on Dr. Rogers. He was discarded by the Calvinists, and left the city. Mr. Fitz adds: "If our correspondent disputes the truth of the above statement, we can give a reference to those who lived in the olden time, and will still bear witness to the truth."

Not as endorsing ill repute in either of those Murrays, but as confirming the popular distinction, I may refer to a quotation from Dr. Francis; yet I should have passed the whole matter in silence, had it not been that the Librarian of Brown University has latterly written or compiled a book, in one letter of which Rev. John Murray, Universalist, is spoken of as "one John Murray, alias Murphy, a fugitive from justice in Great Britain!"

Having preached in Providence, "I contem-

plated extending my tour as far as Boston, but the season being far advanced, I postponed my purpose and hastened back to my pleasant home" in Good Luck. From this date forward, there are general references to preaching in divers places, but nothing special as to New York.

— In a list of subscribers to Relly's Hymn Book, reprinted in Burlington, N. J., in 1776, there are many names set down for Gloucester, Providence, Norwich, New London, &c., and a few for Philadelphia and New Jersey, but only one copy for New York city. This, however, may be accounted for by the fact that, as a result of the battle of Long Island, New York fell into the hands of the British, August 26, 1776. The city was not evacuated until Nov. 25, 1783. During British possession, they nearly destroyed all the churches except the Episcopal, making prisons, riding-schools, and stables of them. Under such circumstances, we need not look for traces of Universalism in New York.

Mr. Murray, who settled in New England in 1774, was for a space the Chaplain of a Rhode Island Brigade in the year following; and Mrs. Murray, in completing his Life, says, "he continued uniformly to devote the summer months to his multiplied adherents from Maryland to New Hampshire," — that is, I suppose, after 1783. Under date of 1785, she records that "a convenient place for public worship was pro-

cured by the Universalists in Philadelphia, and in the city of New York a church had been purchased, which they forbore to open until it could be dedicated by the peace-speaking voice of the promulgator."

The former was Free Mason's Lodge, bought Nov., 1785, by the adherents of Elhanan Winchester. We know not where the latter was located.

DRS. SMITH AND YOUNG.

In 1787 a work was published in New York, entitled "The Universalist," 300 pages 12mo., written by William Pitt Smith, M.D. His professional talents, his literary acquirements, his character for integrity, were so extensively known and acknowledged, as to gain for him a wide political influence, especially as he used his talent and opportunity in the furtherance of all philanthropic plans. In the N. Y. Legislature of 1796 he was a strenuous advocate for the abolition of slavery. Exposure to inclement weather superinduced disease, and he died in the early part of that year, aged thirty-six. The book referred to is a clear and forcible argument for Universalism.

In 1793 another work, also in behalf of Universalism, was published in New York, written by Joseph Young, M.D., the tutor and patron of Dr. Smith. It was entitled, "Calvinism and Universalism Contrasted." Dr. Young fairly

earned an exalted reputation for benevolence of spirit, urbanity of manner, and skill in his profession. In the closing years of his life he practised without any charge, and was particularly devoted to the necessities of the poor.

In 1804, Dr. Young published another work, of the like tenor as the preceding. It was entitled "The Restoration of All Men, proved by Scripture, Reason and Common Sense." What this volume lacked in logical arrangement was more than compensated by the soundness of the principles enunciated and the genial spirit of its pages. The author died April 18, 1814, aged eighty-two.

REV. ABEL SARJENT.

In 1793 the first and second numbers of a remarkable quarterly were issued in New York. The work was entitled, "The Free Universal Magazine, being in part a display of the Mind of Jesus, as manifested to his Servants, the Members of the New and Free Church." Each number consisted of from 42 to 60 pages, close 12mo. — the third and fourth numbers being printed in Baltimore. Closed March, 1794.

Of this publication Rev. Abel Sarjent was editor, and if he never did anything else in furthering the cause he loved, he deserves to have his memory gratefully refreshed in our midst on the score of this record of the olden time.

Besides many religious essays of permanent value, there is statistical information as to churches and ministers in that day. There is evidence, too, incidentally introduced, that while the churches met in the Philadelphia Convention, being a junction of the Murray and Winchester branches, had agreed to disagree in details, and were at peace, there was sharp, disastrous controversy elsewhere, on the old questions of necessity and free-will, "the extremes of an endless hell of misery, or no hell at all in a future state," &c.

Even the evangelical systems, embodying the trinity, vicarious sacrifice, and the like, found questionings in various forms; and a "Church Covenant for the Free Universal Church of Christ, adopted by some of our churches and presented to the consideration of others," seems to antedate Hosea Ballou and Caleb Rich as to the Unitarian basis of Christianity. Witness the following:

"We believe that there is one God, and that there is none other but he: That there is but one person in the godhead, and that the fulness of godhead is included in this one character, Father: That God is a Spirit, infinite, eternal and unchangeable. In his Being, love, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth. A Being who acts, in all he does, entirely from his own Essence, independent of cause or motive, by him seen in any of the actions of creatures, to excite or move him thereunto."

There are mystical passages in this Covenant,

but Christ is clearly spoken of, not as God the Son, as in all the "evangelical" theories, but as "the Son of God, the first and greatest intelligence that was ever produced or brought forth by the infinite love, wisdom and power of the invisible Deity."

This remarkable document makes provision for the establishment of a free religious inquiring society, which shall be continued under the direction of the Church; and immediately following that paper there is a series of "Queries proposed and answered at the Opening of the Free Religious Enquiring Society, under the Direction of the Free Universal Church of Christ at New Hanover, in Burlington County, N. J.— with a few more added."

The Number of this Magazine for September, 1793, seems to have been somewhat delayed in its publication, for it contains an article signed "C. H.," dated New York, Oct. 20, 1793 — from which I extract these passages:

"When any new doctrine is first proposed to the world, however clear and undeniable, or favorable to mankind and honorable to God it may be, it is always opposed and rejected, even by men of the best principles, with the best intentions and purest motives. This may be accounted for, in some degree, from the stubborn prejudices of education, and a natural diffidence in embracing any strange doctrine for fear of being looked upon as a heretical innovator. It is not at all surprising, then, that the doctrine of Universal Salvation and Antitrinitarianism should meet with so little comparative success, and be so coolly received in this enlightened age.

"....As for the doctrine of the Trinity, I am of opinion it was first broached by some new-fangled sophist, and promulgated by fallacious cavillers, till at last it stole into the creeds of established churches, where it has remained so long uncontradicted."

The entire article is most strongly Universalist; and in the next Number of the Magazine there is a "speech delivered at a debate in a Literary Society in New York," by "C. H.," on the question "whether the doctrine of Universal Salvation is agreeable to Scripture or not?" taking decidedly and luminously the affirmative side.

It would seem, therefore, that in the autumn of 1793 there was a debating society in New York in which Universalism was openly discussed, having at least one strong advocate; and that Universalism was held by him on the anti-trinitarian platform.

— Drs. Smith and Young are in the list of subscribers to the Free Universal Magazine.

REV. EDWARD MITCHELL.

In the spring of 1796, one of the class-leaders in the John Street Methodist Society in New York, who had for some time held the sentiment of Universalism, relinquished his class-paper to the Presiding Elder; and it was thought that this official was bent on the excommunication of the Universalist. The latter being joined by two brethren in the faith, waited on the Elder, and said in substance,

"On the subject of religion we three are of the same mind, and what you intend to do with one, we suppose you will do with all. As we are men in business, our characters are dear to us, and we request that you will be so good as to give us a certificate, stating that it was not for any immorality of conduct, but for a difference of opinion that we are excluded."

The Elder replied that he would not act hastily — meaning, it was thought, that he suspected or knew of other sympathizers with Universalism in the Methodist Church, and that he feared fulfilment of the adage, "the more haste the less speed." But the answer to the reasonable application of these three members being unreasonably delayed, they forwarded the following note:

"SIR: — As you cannot, or will not, do us the justice to which we are entitled, we do not choose any longer to continue in this condition. Therefore, from the date hereof, we shall no longer consider ourselves as members of the Methodist Society, nor subject to its precarious discipline.

ABRAHAM E. BROUWER,
ROBERT SNOW,
EDWARD MITCHELL.

"New York, April 28, 1796."

"Thus situated," says Mr. Mitchell, "belonging to no church, we seriously considered what was our duty, as professors of religion, on the subject of worship. We knew that we could read the Scriptures together, pray to God for each other, sing the praise of God our Saviour, and be helpers to each other in one common faith. We therefore determined to worship together, hoping for the enjoyment of the promise of Christ, that where two

or three are gathered in his name, he would be with them."

The conduct of the Methodist authorities produced considerable agitation, and several persons who had formerly belonged to that society, and who "hoped for the happiness of all men," withdrew and united with the band of believers. Among these, mention is made of Barnet Mooney, "a highly esteemed friend, whose sound sense was of great value in the formation of the Constitution." These, to the number of fourteen, were leagued as the "Society of United Christian Friends."

A room in a private dwelling did not long accommodate the increasing group of worshippers, and a meeting-house was erected in Vandewater Street. In Nov., 1800, the Society resolved to become an incorporated body — a movement which caused so great offence to Mr. Brouwer and Mr. Snow, who had both officiated as Elders, that they withdrew shortly after. Class-meetings and Feasts of Charity were relinquished in 1807 — thus striking out several of the elements of the Methodist Church which had been at first retained and adopted.

In the autumn of 1798, Mr. Murray visited and preached in New York, but not in the meeting-house of the "United Christian Friends," for what reason does not appear.

Jan. 19, 1801, being straitened for room, the Society purchased from the Lutherans a church

in what is now known as Pearl Street — a property which in 1818 passed into possession of the Swedenborgians.

Rev. John Foster came to New York in 1803.* His friends, it seems, asked permission, in his behalf, for occupancy of the church in Pearl Street, presumably not so as to interfere with Mr Mitchell's regular services. The trustees refused the request, for what reasons we know not. Some of the members were so displeased with this refusal, that they opened a place of meeting in Rose Street, and afterwards in Broadway near Pearl. Here Mr. Foster continued to preach for about two years, and from that date all trace of him is lost.

Until 1803 there was no stated preacher in the organization of "Christian Friends," exclusively devoted to the ministerial office, but Elders served in that capacity, there being at one time as many as five, among whom Mr. William Palmer was prominent. But in July of that year Mr. Mitchell was specially appointed and set apart as the pastor — a position which he occupied without interruption until the summer of 1810. He was then settled as colleague of Mr. Murray in Boston for about fifteen months, Mr. Palmer meanwhile officiating in his stead in New York.

* He was a brother of Rev. Dan Foster, who in that year issued a critical review of Rev. Nathan Strong's advocacy of endless misery, Walpole, N. H.

Being recalled from his New England labors, in the latter part of Oct., 1811, the Society of United Christian Friends commenced a new career of prosperity. So crowded were the meetings for several years, that a new and more spacious church was demanded, and one was promptly erected in Duane Street, corner of what is now City Hall Place. It was dedicated in Dec., 1818.

Thurlow Weed, in reminiscences of his early life in New York, being then in an humble sphere, related that he first attended upon the ministry of the renowned orthodox divines of that day, but "settled down (1815) under the droppings of Rev. Edward Mitchell, a truly eloquent and exemplary Universalist, who instructed and elevated a united and happy congregation in a small church situated in Magazine (now Pearl) Street."

In "Old New York, or Reminiscences of the Past Sixty Years, by John W. Francis, M. D.," enlarged and revised edition of 1858, I find the following:

"The Universalists, with Edward Mitchell and William Palmer, though circumscribed in fiscal means, nevertheless drew together a most respectable body of believers to their house of worship in Magazine Street, now Pearl. They were both men of eloquence and good pleaders in behalf of their tenets, and had large auditories. Occasionally they were sustained in the work of their conviction by the preaching of John Murray, . . . whose casual absence from his people in

Massachusetts, enabled him to gratify the disciples of their creed in New York. Murray had a rival of a like name to his own, of the Calvinistic faith, a man of sound erudition and rhetorical powers, and in contradistinction they were designated by the sobriquets of Salvation and Damnation Murray. These men moved together so harmoniously that they often alternately occupied the same pulpit on the same day in New England. The Universalist, little John Murray, had much of the primitive about him. His rich humility, his grave accent, and his commentaries on the divine love, won him distinction from every discourse. None could withhold a kindly approbation. He seemed to me always charged with tracts on benevolence, and engaged in distributing a periodical called *The Berean*, or *Scripture Searcher*. He called himself a Berean.

"The doctrine of the Universalists had been entertained and promulgated in New York and elsewhere among Americans long prior to the time of the public discourses of Mitchell and Palmer."

After mentioning Chauncey, Wm. P. Smith, Winchester, Huntingdon, Young, he adds:

"Seed therefore had been sown broadcast ere Edward Mitchell had mounted the pulpit. Nevertheless Universalists may well look back with equal emotions of gratitude at the labors of Mitchell and Palmer for a series of years, begun fifty years ago, while their Society was in its infancy, as at the present day they hail their accomplished orator, Dr. Chapin, as their ecclesiastical leader."

Mr. Mitchell was a Calvinistic Universalist, standing distinctly on the Rellyan basis. He never was in formal fellowship with the Universalist denomination, and never fully sympathized with any of its plans or members. He was

nevertheless a pronounced believer in the final restitution, and heartily employed the energies of his vigorous mind and the charm of his eloquent voice in its proclamation and defence. He was, however, impatient of contradiction, and when his popularity waned by reason of increasing infirmity, he became increasingly hostile to every form of profession not in harmony with his own. But nearly all these were the characteristics of another, and I am persuaded that we should either say more about Edward Mitchell or less about John Murray.

Mr. Mitchell was undoubtedly a highly useful man in his generation, and there are few, of any order, who excel what he was in the day of his power. Though not perhaps blameless, he walked firmly in the statutes of the Lord, and left behind him the memory of the just. He died of apoplexy at the house of a friend in North Salem, N. Y., August 8, 1834.

HENRY FITZ.

Henry Fitz, born in Newburyport, Mass., in 1785, removed to Albany in 1817 — thence to New York city in 1819 — and commenced the publication of the *Gospel Herald* in the spring of 1820. He was educated in the Calvinistic faith: The first work he read on Universalism was Relly's Union: The first Universalist preacher he ever heard was John Murray: And it is not wonderful that on his arrival in New

York he should seek Mr. Mitchell's church,—nor is it wonderful that his paper should be commenced on the anti-unitarian theory. The first volume was in quarto, four pages weekly.

At the commencement of the second volume, there was a change in both the form of the paper and the platform of principles, there being still a devout recognition of the final reconciliation of all souls. It was now issued in royal octavo, eight pages double columns, and so continued until the end in April, 1827.

Mr. Fitz, though he never claimed to be a clergyman and never aspired to the consideration of the ministerial office, for several years preached whenever and wherever there was an opportunity. He was a clear thinker, a forcible speaker, and a terrible battle-axe when arrayed against the falsehoods and shams of the world —and withal a man of a good spirit. Best of all, he was an upright man in his life, holding the truth in righteousness.

In 1840 he removed to Baltimore, where he died of consumption, July 10, 1848. His death was triumphant; and it was meet, after such a life and such a death, that he should be buried at sunrise.

The *Gospel Herald* was strongly controversial, as indeed a Universalist paper needed to be in that day. Mostly through this influence, in 1822 a Society for the "Investigation and Establishment of Gospel Truth" was instituted. For

a long time its sessions were held in a schoolroom in Christie Street, and in different parts of the city. More frequently than any other questions, the relative merits of Universalism and Partialism were freely discussed, Mr. Fitz being prominently one of the disputants.

Chiefly, I judge, by the energy of Henry Fitz, a building once occupied by the members of St. Luke's Church, corner of Hudson and Christopher Streets, in "the village" (Greenwich district being then a village,) was opened for public worship on Tuesday evening, July 6, 1822. Less than six months afterward, it was opened for religious worship on Sunday afternoon also, Mr. Mitchell officiating usually; and in the close of February there was announcement that the Second Society of United Christian Friends had been organized.

A lot was immediately obtained at the corner of Prince Street and Orange — the corner-stone of a spacious church was laid, July 10, 1823 — and the house was informally dedicated on the fourth Sunday in July, 1824. The session room had previously been dedicated and occupied by worshippers.

Dating early in July, 1824, and ending with July, 1825, Rev. Nehemiah Dodge was for one year the stated minister of the Prince St. Church. Under what sort of covenant I know not, but he went to Philadelphia, Aug. 3, 1825, where he officiated for about three months, Mr. Kneeland

being meanwhile in Prince Street. The latter was invited to the pastorate and commenced his permanent services, Oct. 4, 1825.

This connection continued until the spring of 1827. It would be useless now, as it certainly was irritating then, to consider the question of ejectment or withdrawal, or the antecedent or accompanying controversy, and therefore I will say, only, that the connection was dissolved — certainly not with impeachment of Mr. Kneeland's denominational standing.

What preachers immediately followed him as supplies does not appear, but he was succeeded by Rev. Adin Ballou, as pastor, on the third Sunday in Sept., 1827, which relation continued about nine months, ending with the close of June, 1828. Then followed abortive efforts to secure the services of Rev. Hosea Ballou — after which the house was closed, unless for an occasional service, until the spring of 1829, when Rev. John F. Myers, then late of Boston, was elected pastor. The engagement closed with August.

There were marble tablets in front of the church, bearing 1 Timothy iv. 10 as an inscription. The property was sold to the Presbyterians, under the administration, I believe, of Rev. Charles G. Finney, a noted revivalist, and those tablets were removed. Consistently, too, for the new owners, though willing to labor, did not suffer reproach. Nor did they trust in the

living God as the Saviour of all men absolutely, and would fain insert *only* instead of *specially* as respects those who believe.

Often have I pondered the question, What would have been the history of Universalism in New York to this date, if a man of devout stability had been pastor of the Prince St. Church from the beginning? There was a powerful organization of believers, needing no profane hand to steady the ark of the Lord. Only this was required in tabernacle or in temple: See that the manna be neither spoiled nor wasted, nor the blossoms blasted of the budding rod.

REV. ABNER KNEELAND.

In leaving the Prince St. Church, Mr. Kneeland was accompanied by a strong minority, if not indeed by a majority. They were sound men, mostly, and believed there was soundness in *him.* At first they occupied the New Jerusalem Chapel in Pearl Street, May 27, 1827 — in June, organized the Second Universalist Society (the Society remaining in Prince Street being now known as the First) — in July, engaged Tammany Hall for three months, and were established in Masonic Hall, Broadway, Nov. 11, 1827.

Then, and for months afterward, some of the most distinguished clergymen in our ranks held Mr. Kneeland in fellowship, though deploring his denials and his doubts. Expostulation

was vain. Constitutionally a sceptic, and exulting in novel criticisms, he constantly evoked questionings which he could not answer. Seeking celebrity, he gained notoriety, seeming not to perceive the distinction of difference, and erelong concerning faith made shipwreck, whatever became of a good conscience.

He had been editor of the *Olive Branch*, since the close of May, 1827. This paper superseded or succeeded the *Gospel Herald*, and at the close of volume first absorbed *The Christian Inquirer*, which had lived and died in the care of Rev. B. Bates. No longer upheld by a publishing association, Mr. Kneeland took proprietary as well as editorial control in May, 1828. The whole establishment passed into ownership of Rev. T. Fiske in the close of that year, and in the first week of the new year, 1829, appeared the first number of the *Gospel Herald*, new series, Rev. Abel C. Thomas being nominally the publisher.

About the middle of January, Mr. Kneeland invited Miss Frances Wright to lecture in his pulpit in Masonic Hall. She was a woman of rare talent, without doubt; and I see no reason to doubt that she sincerely believed the "Institution of Nashoba," a sort of prophetic Fourier Association of which she was the founder, would greatly promote human welfare; but in her "Explanatory Notes respecting its nature and objects," published in the *New Harmony Gazette*, she advocated highly offensive principles and details

respecting the marriage law and the domestic relations, and at the same time was understood to discard every formula of religious faith. Add to this that she had organized certain beneficent plans in behalf of emancipated slaves at Memphis, Tenn., and the cup of popular indignation overflowed.

So far as social reform was concerned, Mr. Kneeland sympathized with *her* and with Robert Owen, and had something or much to do with the Franklin Community established at Haverstraw, N. Y. Whatever may have been the outline or filling up of its government, more than one Universalist minister of that day commended it as a philanthropic measure, and it is possible that exclusion of sectarism was construed into rejection of the religious element.

At the time of Miss Wright's first visit to New York, Mr. Kneeland had for several years been slowly but surely drifting away from anchorage ground in the New Testament. A man of unquestioned reputation as to Christian faith, with little hazard if not with impunity might have invited her or Mr. Owen into his pulpit to lecture on social reform: Mr. Kneeland did it at his peril, and at the peril of his cause. It is not probable that his invitation had anything to do with sceptical or speculative opinions. He was deeply interested in plans for furthering human welfare, socially; but the public sentiment, while condemning *her,* held *him* respon-

sible for the alleged grossness and infidelity of the scheme.

He was a pure man in his life, but not strong enough in the repute of faith to stand up under the burden. He had lost ground among his denominational friends. The Second Universalist Society, of which he was pastor, annulled its connection with him, and his sympathizers hired a Hall in Pearl Street near Broadway, where he walked out into the utter-dark sea of doubt, with the apology to his protesting personal friends, "I have left stepping-stones behind me."

— I do not urge the precision of a day, but am I wrong in considering this the gloomiest era of our annals in New York? Mr. Fiske must needs, at times, be in Philadelphia with his parish: Mr. Bates, whose adherents were very few at most, never came near us: Mr. Mitchell had no regard for our denominational misfortune: Prince St. Church was closed: Masonic Hall was closed: Homeless and hopeless, the Universalists were scattered: And often, when spending my evenings alone, in our cumbered, dingy printing-office, 6 Centre Street, I appropriated an ancient record:

> He came thither unto a cave . . . . and, behold, the word of the Lord came to him, and said unto him, What doest thou here, Abel? And he said, I have been very jealous for the Lord God of Hosts; for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I, even I only, am left.

Yet Mr. Kneeland (March 2, 1829) still claimed to be a Christian Minister, a claim which he asserted as late as May 20, by attending the session of the Southern Association in Hartford and presenting a request to be admitted as a member of the Council. This was refused, and he was suspended from the fellowship of the order.

It certainly must be classed among the curiosities of the human mind, that the extremes of credulity and incredulity should meet in the same individual. Professing no faith in the prophets of the olden time, he sincerely believed in the ability of two little girls, modern seers, to describe the locality of buried treasures by looking into a glass of water with pebbles at the bottom, and on equally good (or the same) authority invested all he had, and much of what several of his frends had, in digging in Dunderberg mountain for Kidd's money, and ransacking Hurl Gate for a sunken ship laden with gold!

— After a few years of varied experience in New York, Mr Kneeland removed to Boston, where he lectured to a loose-organization of followers. Some narrow-minded zealots, taking advantage of an old Puritan law, pushed him into court, and into prison, too — on a charge of blasphemy, I believe. There was more infidelity in the creed and in the deed of those zealots, than in any crowd of people who say in

their heart what *he* had uttered with his lips or by his pen. Surely the imprisonment of an old white-haired man, for a few fanatical-sceptical words, was one of the most barbarian as well as impolitic expedients of the nineteenth century.

How long subsequently, I do not remember, but Mr. Kneeland migrated to the Des Moines River region of Iowa, where he cultivated a few acres. I have no memoradum of the date of his death.

GRAND STREET CHURCH.

Running parallel with Mr. Kneeland's increasing sympathy with the plans of Miss Frances Wright, there were efforts in New York to redeem Zion. In the close of Jan. and in Feb., 1829, Mr. Fiske and others preached in Prince St. Church and in Masonic Hall; but dawn came in the word that a recently-vacated Episcopal Chapel, near the junction of Grand Street and Division, on leased ground, was for sale on easy terms. By the urgent counsel of Mr. Fiske it was bought — dedicated as the Third Universalist Church, March 8, — and there, April 5, 1829, commenced my stated ministry.

May 6, 1829, the N. Y. and Philad. Association was organized. Ministers present: T. Fiske, Z. Fuller, J. B. Shannon, John F. Myers, E. Wellington, O. Whiston, A. C. Thomas. Letters of Fellowship were granted to the last three

— also to Jacob Myers of Petersburg, Pa. and A. J. Maurice of North Carolina.*

Rev. Barnabas Bates, a Unitarian, assisted in the dedication of the Chapel, but was not present at our Association. Early in the summer I exchanged with him. He had a small congregation in a Hall at the junction of Christopher and Barrow Streets, and was principal of an English and Classical School in the basement of the Unitarian Church, corner of Prince Street and Mercer. He afterward took a leading part in the reduction of postage rates, and was in the Post-Office department until the close of his life.

— The Grand Street Society, though cramped in its finances and pinched to meet its engagements, was prosperous from the first. With earnest men in control, and a preacher who made up in zeal what he lacked in knowledge, it could not well be otherwise, under the circumstances. Remembering the worm-wood and the gall of our recent estate, we seemed to have risen from a horrible pit to the dominion of the stars.

Was it because the well-to-do classes resided at inconvenient distances, or were so utterly discouraged as to have lost even sympathy, or be-

* This Association met in Philadelphia in September, and in New Brunswick, N. J., in December — after which there were two separate organizations. The New York Association has wide jurisdiction, seldom meets in the city, and has its chief value in missionary operations. Neither of this body nor of the State Convention have I attempted a history in these pages.

cause the new movement was in a lowly edifice? Certainly there was no help from the wealthy fragments of preceding organizations, and contract-payments for our meeting-house, partly met by current income, and of expenses which could not be postponed, incidentally pressed hard upon the preacher in charge.

A detailed statement of the causes and reasons of my removal to Philadelphia in the autumn of that year, would lead me through a story of sickness, poverty and embarrassment, the memory of which I have no desire to perpetuate. — Mr. Fiske succeeded me in Grand St. Church, though it would seem he was neither pastor nor permanent supply. He was certainly elsewhere frequently.

Jan. 17 there was public worship in Central Hall, Greenwich Village. — The District School Room in Brooklyn, then a village of fifteen thousand, having for two Sundays been closed against the Universalists, they hired a room (location not mentioned) and "set it apart" for religious uses, Jan. 24. — There was divine service in a Hall near the Ninth Ward Hotel in Sixth Avenue, Jan. 31. — Eastern Hall, corner of North and Manhattan Streets, was opened for religious worship, March 11, with the announcement that Mr. Fiske would preach every Sunday afternoon and evening. — Rev. O. Whiston preached in the Universalist Lecture Room in the Bowery, opposite the head of Spring Street,

May 9. — July 18, Corinthian Hall, 316 Lombardy Street, having recently been fitted up by the Universalists as a place of public worship, was dedicated. The choir of the First Independent Universalist Society met on Friday evenings for instruction and rehearsal.

In all these undertakings Mr. Fiske seems to have had Rev. O. Whiston and Rev. S. Wild,* late of London, as his chief helpers. Certainly these missionary endeavors were worthy of better success. Their symbol was the flower of the field, flourishing and perishing. — Meanwhile the *Gospel Herald* of June 19, 1830, announced that "Rev. T. J. Sawyer has accepted a call to settle over the Third Universalist Society in Grand Street."

REV. THOMAS J. SAWYER.

There can be no doubt that Universalism in New York touched bottom in Jan. or Feb., 1829, and confessedly it was very low one year later. The chief things which prevented utter overthrow were these: The possession of a meeting-house, and the coming of Mr. Sawyer in the spring of 1830. He had the help and en-

* Mr. Wild was a man of literary taste. The fine hymns, beginning, "While far and wide thy scattered sheep," and, "Thou God of Truth, if we have erred," were from his pen. They were written for and sung at the dedication of Corinthian Hall. I know not what became of the author. Mr. Whiston, for many years in our ministry, has of late been engaged in secular business.

couragement of good men, yet often was constrained to exclaim, Out of the depths have I cried unto thee, O Lord!

A year rolled around — the last pulsation of the *Gospel Herald* was in the spring of 1831 — and in October of that year, Philo Price, a printer with a small capital and large courage, came from Norwalk, Conn., and issued Number 1 of the *Christian Messenger* — a publication which, with several changes of title, proprietorship and editorial charge, continues to this day.

Mr. Sawyer was admirably fitted for the threefold position which he now occupied, preacher, pastor and editor. Learning, fidelity, industry, with courtesy in speech and dignity in manner, qualified him for his responsible trusts, and the denomination has never been stingy in the acknowledgment of his merit and value.

In Jan., 1832, Shaler J. Hillyer, whom the Lord had prepared for the work, entered the ministry with high encomium of worthiness; and the world was informed, "with feelings of no ordinary pleasure," that Rev. Wm. Whittaker, whom the Episcopalians had prepared for the pulpit, had become a convert to Universalism.

Of the latter we shall hear in time enough: The former was truly a devout, humble, genial, self-sacrificing man, counting not even his life dear unto him, so that he might finish his course with joy. In one year of missionary service, there being no railroads, he travelled 4622 miles,

preached in 81 different places, — meeting-houses, town-houses, school-houses, public-houses, dwelling-houses, Lord's-houses, (meaning the open air) — 174 times in all — a stinted, meagre livelihood being all his worldly compensation. It was inward necessity which carried him through; and when, in May, 1834, he settled in North Salem, he began a pastorate of more than thirty-one years — ending only with being exalted to a crown and throne, Sept. 26, 1865.

— In the spring of 1832 Mr. Sawyer leased a church in Orchard Street for a term of two years, at the annual rent of $1050, four members of his congregation becoming his security as to prompt payment. *He* in turn pledged to *them*, as *their* security, the whole income of the church. The house had been erected four or five years previously for the use of a Society of the Dutch Reformed Church, and had fallen into the hands of the builders because of failure in the receipt of the contract-price. The Grand St. Society took possession on the third Sunday in April, 1832.

It was a hazardous undertaking for Mr. Sawyer. Besides a brave soul and a strong hand, all he had in the world was a young wife and a two years' lease of a Dutch Reformed Church.* Both these proved good investments.

* March, 1834, the Society bought the property at a Chancery sale. One year previously there had been reorganization as the Second Universalist Society, Mr. Mitchell's being of courtesy recognized as the First.

On the day of opening, and on the Sunday following, Rev. S. R. Smith officiated in all his strength. Do not imagine, O ye easily-wearied latter-day saints, that *one* sermon was then the full measure of a Sunday feast. Not on great occasions only, such as this, but ordinarily, there was tri-unity of instruction and worship on the Lord's Day of Rest — and usually a week-evening interlude of a lecture or a conference meeting.

The Society gradually increased. Old friends whom circumstances had alienated or caused to stand aloof, returned, and forgot their former difficulties and estrangements.

— In Nov., 1832, Rev. Abel C. Thomas, of Philadelphia, was added to the editorial corps of the *Messenger*, — a position which he occupied for about six years. He has great pleasure in recalling many incidents of this connection, especially as it brought him frequently into pulpit-association with the editor-in-chief, in New York. Making no pretension to the erudition of Mr. Sawyer, his impulsive strain and vehement manner, partly compensated for deficiencies in other respects, and suggested the quaint fancy of mutual friends, that if we could be reduced together in a crucible, thoroughly mixed, and then equally divided, there would be the making of two tolerable men! I beg his pardon for the presumption of having half-believed it.

— Though the Dutch Reformed Church

would not save their meeting-house in Orchard Street, no sooner had it passed into possession of the Universalists, than the members of that communion began to express a most lively concern for the interests of religion. The *Christian Intelligencer*, their organ, soon began to pay some attention to Universalism; and in the autumn, Rev. W. C. Brownlee, D. D., one of their boldest if not their ablest men, commenced a course of lectures against the doctrine. These lectures were repeated in all their churches in the city: They were also briefly reported and published in the *Intelligencer*. An attempt was made, but failed, to induce their delivery in the Orchard St. Church.

A review of these lectures, by Mr. Sawyer in his pulpit, was condensed in a series of twenty-two Letters to Dr. Brownlee, and published in the *Messenger*, beginning Feb. 16, 1833.

— As was quaintly said in encomium of one of the old Puritan divines, "He was a good liver and a painful preacher," that is, a man of correct life and a pains-taking preacher, so it may truly be said of Mr. Sawyer. He was also "a painful writer." In that day, and for years afterwards, he re-wrote all his leading articles for the press and many of his discourses for the pulpit. He was indeed a strong off-hand speaker, as proved on many occasions, but he so deeply felt the responsibility of his work as to spare no pains in the utterance of his thoughts.

CHAPTER XIII.

Third Universalist Society — Rev. C. F. Le Fevre — Rev. Menzies Rayner — Rev. William S. Balch — Rev. M. Ballou —Rev. D. K. Lee—Rev. E. C. Sweetzer—Rev. Dr. Brownlee — Rev. J. J. Slocum — Sunday Schools — Duane St. Church — Penalty of Sin — Rev. S. H. Remington — Fourth Society — Rev. William Whittaker — Renunciation — Rev. I. D. Williamson — Rev. M. Ballou — Rev. E. H. Chapin — N. Y. Evangelist — Hatfield's Universalism — Parker's Lectures — Rev. O. A. Skinner — Rev. C. H. Fay — Fifth Society — Rev. Z. Baker — Tests — Rev. H. R. Nye — Rev. T. J. Sawyer — Sixth Society — Rev. E. G. Brooks.

UNIVERSALISM IN NEW YORK.

AMONG the many sterling men attracted to the Orchard St. Church were Cornelius Harsen and Henry H. Brown. Being neighbors and enjoying each other's confidence, walking to and from the house of God in company, and doubtless conferring by the way, they resolved to embark in the enterprise, not then considered promising, of organizing a Society to be in a manner associated with the Orchard St. Society, though on the other side of the town.

In the spring of 1833 a meeting-house recently vacated by the Presbyterians, in Sixth Avenue at the foot of Amity Street, was obtained by these two brethren, before even their friends were well aware that such a measure was

in contemplation. The movement met Mr. Sawyer's hearty concurrence; and here public worship was inaugurated April 21.

THIRD UNIVERSALIST SOCIETY.

The church organized in Greenwich Village and known as the Third Universalist, was without a pastor (though the pulpit was regularly supplied, longest and latest by Rev. Henry Roberts) until March 22, 1834, at which time Rev. C. F. Le Fevre took charge.

So earnest and efficient were the moved and moving spirits of this enterprise, that the corner-stone* of a new church was laid, Nov 5, 1835, at the junction of Bleecker Street and Downing.

The closing paragraph of Mr. Le Fevre's Address on the occasion, is rarely if ever excelled in pathos and felicitous expression:

"Within the walls here to be erected, may the Gospel trumpet send forth a certain sound, and break upon the multitude in accents of mercy and truth, and breathe forth the deathless love of our Saviour. Around the altar may the happy disciples gather, and with hearts overflowing with gratitude commemorate the glories of his grace. Here may the oppressed, the burdened and the sorrow-stricken child of humanity find a respite to his troubles, — here may the mourner and the weary find sweet oblivion to their woes. Here may free, life-giving and pardoning grace be proclaimed, and the heart kindle with rapture while it contemplates the won-

*Samuel Whittemore, who laid the corner-stone, and who shortly afterward gave orders for the construction of an elegant organ as a gift to the church, died of apoplexy, June 22, 1835.

ders of redeeming love. May the multitude from Sabbath to Sabbath here assemble to worship, here find food apportioned and suited to their varied wants; and whenever they shall leave these consecrated walls, again to mix in the cares and avocations of life, may they be constrained to say, 'This is none other than the house of God, the gate of heaven.'"

On the first of Sept., 1835, the building being in progress, Mr. Le Fevre sailed for England, purposing a continental tour. He returned in May, 1836, his pulpit having meanwhile been supplied by different preachers, — mostly by Rev. B. B. Hallock. — The new church was dedicated June 19, 1836. Mr. Le Fevre preached in the morning, Rev. T. J. Sawyer in the afternoon, and Rev. A. C. Thomas in the evening.

No man was happier on that occasion than Cornelius Harsen. He had for many years been a Universalist of the enthusiastic order; but after the Kneeland-disasters he held aloof until the opening of the Orchard St. Church. He was one of the fathers and among the pillars of the Third Society, beginning in Sixth Avenue in 1833 — and now he enjoyed the blessedness of those who both work and wait for the consolations of Israel. — He departed this life, Oct. 27, 1838, aged fifty-five, leaving the testimony of a religious life, including the record of an open hand.

— In the spring of 1840 Mr. Le Fevre resigned his position as pastor, and from that

date onward for two and a half years the pulpit was supplied by Rev. Menzies Rayner. He was a convert from the Episcopal Church in Connecticut in 1827. There was honorable openness between him and the Bishop, and he left that communion without fear and without reproach, ever afterward holding the more sure word of prophecy.

During Mr. Rayner's ministry in the Third Society, above-noted, namely, April 11, 1841, Henry H. Brown departed this life, aged forty-eight. His church-companion, Cornelius Harsen, was highly vivacious in temperament: Mr. Brown, on the contrary, was cheerfully sedate, with a mild, glowing steadiness in his eyes and in every line of his countenance. The former was of Dutch Reformed lineage: The latter was a convert from doubts generated by the monstrous theology of the churches. These two men, so different and yet so touched by the same divine spirit, walked harmoniously in the paths of *this* world, into the closer unity of the world to come.

— Rev. William S. Balch took pastoral charge of the Third Universalist Society, Nov. 20, 1842 —a relation which continued, for the most part prosperously, for seventeen years.

Dating in 1837, the Third Society had been in serious financial difficulty, with its accompaniments. The lowest ebb was in 1840, and hence the engagement of a temporary supply

instead of a permanent pastor. When the tide turned, they did well to put Mr. Balch into that local ministry. He was a practical man, a financier, whose energy did much to revive the zeal of the Society. Even his several terms of absence in Europe were overruled for a wholesome end, forasmuch as they enabled him to freshen his discourses by observations in the old world, and by the way.

He was little indebted to books, and made little pretension to learning, in the popular sense of the term, but his perceptive faculties made all things tributary to his purpose. He wrote much for the press, but I do not find that he was engaged in direct controversy on the question of Universalism. His forte was, I judge, in biographical sketches and in sketches of travel. He was for a few years one of the editors of the *Ambassador*, but mostly his long term of service found employment in the duties of his parish.

Few people are sensible of what this means. Counsel for the young, sympathy with the old, help for the weary, courage for the despondent, strength for the tempted, restoration of the alienated, hope for the dying, burial of the dead, comfort for the mourner: Whoso shall faithfully attend to all duties such as these, will have enough to do, and find within himself an answer to all questionings of the pastoral calling.

Seventeen years of pastoral life and of per-

sonal change: Can we wonder that he longed for the mountain-springs of Vermont, as David longed for the waters of the well in Bethlehem? He resigned and retired in April, 1858 — and was succeeded by Rev. M. Ballou, May, 1859. The most marked event of this pastorate of nearly four years and a half, was his review of Dr. Thompson's lectures on Love and Penalty, progressively as delivered in the Broadway Tabernacle. It was in the vein of Mr. Ballou's searching review of Beecher's Conflict of Ages, and attracted overflowing congregations.

Mr. Ballou resigned September 1, 1864, and was succeeded by Rev. D. K. Lee, May 1, 1865. The modesty of his countenance and the urbanity of his address gave small indication of the range of his mental resources. He was a man of literary taste, not inclined to dogmatic theology nor to textual commentary, but delighting in the developments and morals of science, especially of astronomy. He was an impressive, instructive, but not exciting preacher, and has never been excelled in the sweet graces of social life. He drew nigher to "the music of the spheres," June 2, 1869, in the fifty-third year of his age; and Rev. E. C. Sweetzer entered upon the duties of this pastorate, about the middle of September.

Resumed from the close of Chap. xii.

Possession by the Universalists in the spring of 1832 of a church consecrated by the Dutch

Reformed, ministered little to the comfortable repose of the latter; and possession by the Universalists in the spring of 1833 of a church consecrated by the Presbyterians, gradually aroused both Dutch Reformed and Presbyterian wrath,—as witness the following incidents:

Sunday evening, Oct. 11, 1832, Rev. Dr. Brownlee, of whom we have already spoken as a prominent clergyman in the Dutch Reformed Church, unquestionably a man of learning and influence, commenced a series of lectures on the question, Is Universalism consistent with reason and revelation? Whereupon Mr. Sawyer announced himself gratified that while ignorant pretenders, in both pulpit and press, affect to treat the subject with contempt, divines of undoubted talent and genuine piety do not regard it as beneath their notice.

Mr. Sawyer also called on Dr. Brownlee, soliciting a copy of the lecture for publication in the *Messenger*, but was informed that it was the first of a course, the publication of which had not yet been thought of.

A report of the second lecture induced Mr. Sawyer, by note, to invite a repetition of the course in the Orchard St. Church. This was declined. Another note was addressed to him, requesting a copy of his lectures for publication in the *Messenger*, which was declined, for the lack of time to transcribe his notes.

Under these circumstances, the Universalists,

obliged to do the best in their power, combined stenographic memoranda and recollection, and thus produced a fair but not minute report of the series of lectures. This served as subject-matter of a course of Sunday evening lectures in reply, and also a series of twenty-two letters in the pages of the *Messenger*, ending with volume second, October, 1833.

In the progress of these endeavors, Dr. Brownlee wrote a note to Mr. Sawyer, which drew from the latter a disavowal of having charged the former with holding that God from all eternity designed to make some men merely to damn them — at the same time fastening the monstrous blasphemy upon John Calvin!

At the close of the regular series, Mr. Sawyer prepared and published, Jan. 4, 1834, a minute Statement of Facts on the matter in hand, with correspondence and severe commentary upon the unmanly conduct of Dr. Brownlee, and the editorial staff of the *Christian Intelligencer.* This statement was an Appeal to the members of the Dutch Reformed Church for judgment. It was liberally circulated, and doubtless did its work.

During this review by speech and in print, a matter of less consequence but of more excitement transpired. It related to the promise of the editors of the *Christian Intelligencer* to furnish short, pithy and scriptural Answers to A. C. T.'s 213 Questions. I am amused, even yet, with memories of the commendable indignation of

the Dutch Reformed saints, and their courageous contempt of both truth and courtesy in the entire transaction. It is too long a story to narrate in these pages. Whoso desires may find it in the *Messenger* of 1833–'34.

Early in 1835 there was another conflict but of a different order. In the evening of Feb. 24, in the pulpit of the Orchard St. Church, by invitation of the pastor, personally appeared Rev. J. J. Slocum, of the Presbyterian Church, to set forth the Difficulties of Universalism, and to receive an answer in "open court."

By arrangement of the parties, four lectures were to be delivered on consecutive evenings of that week, and three lectures on consecutive evenings of the week following. Mr. Slocum had an hour for each speech, and Mr. Sawyer was entitled to equal space for an immediate reply — though neither would object to a reasonable trespass by the other, as to time.

At the close of this series of lectures, Mr. Sawyer invited Mr. Slocum to a series on the Difficulties of Endless Misery, on corresponding terms and conditions, in the same church. The invitation was accepted, and the programme followed to the end.

It was in a day of close controversy — in the midst indeed of a written discussion with another Presbyterian — and I was glad to be in New York on exchange with Mr. Le Fevre, that I might be present during at least the first four

evenings of the "war in heaven." After the lapse of so many years, I can recall little more than impressions, and I am gratified still by the gentlemanly bearing of both combatants.

At the ending of these interviews, several liberal Universalists tendered a collection for the benefit of Mr. Slocum — which he very properly declined, on a personal account, but he would accept a collection, and pass it over to the Presbyterian Board of Education! There should have been a prompt protest by the Universalists, cutting off even a dime of contribution. Instead of that, the Universalists generously aided in equipping a Presbyterian for the battle!

— During the preceding year, and now more earnestly than ever, the Universalists of New York were stimulated into efforts for evangelizing. Additional to stated Sunday services, conference meetings, and the like, a special Society was organized for promoting Universalism in New York.

At the first quarterly meeting of this organization, May 28, 1835, Mr. Sawyer delivered an address — in which he illustrated that

"In promoting Universalism we expect to promote better views of God and of the divine government. The diffusion of Universalism will promote the best interests of morality and godliness, by holding up a perfect character for our imitation, and by holding out proper and adequate rewards and punishments, with neither abatement nor escape. And so, in promoting Universalism we expect to promote human happiness in every form."

— It would seem, too, that Universalists about this time had opened their eyes to the value of an instrumentality which they had hitherto almost wholly neglected. There had indeed been a Sunday School of a few pupils, a few faithful teachers, and Shaler J. Hillyer as Superintendent, in the Grand St. Church in 1831; but it continued only a few months, and for various reasons was then relinquished — to be resumed and reorganized May 31, 1835, in connection with the church in Orchard Street.

Doubtless there had been enough besides for the pastors to do, but this does not reach the root. In that day, little was imagined of the utility of Sunday Schools. In many cases they were discountenanced as instrumentalities of mischief, in fettering the minds of the young; and of so small consequence was that school of 1835 considered, that while almost every trivial denominational incident was recorded in the *Messenger*, I find no mention of it in the paper until more than eight months after it was inaugurated.

Long ago, there was a thorough change among our people in this behalf — so marked indeed that an announcement of the erection of a meeting-house and the organization of a Society, implies, as a rule, the establishment of a Sunday School as an auxiliary. Without this, persistently attended to, there can be little hope of church-prosperity.

So numerous have been the Sons and Daughters of the Good Shepherd, in the range of this history, that I should find it impossible to make a satisfactory list. Even the dates and the names of the successive officers of those institutions are beyond my reach. Only let it be assumed, in the progress of this sketch, that Sunday Schools have been in high consideration with Universalists these many years.

— While the earliest of our Sunday Schools in New York was struggling up into the light, there would seem to have been a shaking of the dry bones in the Duane St. Church — for about the first of July, Rev. David Pickering was invited to the pulpit vacated by the death of Mr. Mitchell. He assumed charge Oct. 11, 1835, and immediately announced and commenced a series of Sunday Evening Lectures.

It appeared to be his desire, while cultivating personal good-will, to stand outside of the Universalist organization; yet I find that Mr. Sawyer and Mr. Le Fevre united with him in a series of six Sunday evening doctrinal discourses, in the Duane St. Church, commencing March 12, 1837.

Mr. Pickering had a peculiarly difficult position. In 1829 he resigned his membership in the General Convention of Universalists and all the Associations in its jurisdiction, not on the score of principle but of administration — and now, known as a Unitarian Restorationist, he was pastor of a Society of Trinitarian Univer-

salists — many of whom would have nothing to do with the Unitarian Universalists of New York. His resignation and removal certainly inured to his personal comfort. He died in Ypsilanti, Michigan, Jan. 6, 1859, in the seventy-first year of his age.

— On Wednesday evening, Feb. 15, 1837, Mr. Hatfield delivered a discourse in his church, corner of Broome Street and Ridge, on the Penalty of Sin — to which Mr. Sawyer replied on Sunday evening, 26th. This reply was afterward printed. A copy of the pamphlet falling into the hands of Rev. S. H. Remington, pastor of the Willet St. Methodist Church, he was moved to review it in a course of three lectures in Oct., 1837. Mr. Sawyer requested a copy of them for examination, and was politely answered that they were to be published in print, and that an early copy would be forwarded. — They were published in book-form late in December — the interval being doubtless spent in revision by Mr. Remington. Mr. Sawyer meanwhile addressed three letters to his "excellent friend," Mr. Hatfield. Then came a thorough review of Remington's Lectures in a series of lectures — followed by a series of letters in the *Union*, beginning in July, 1838, and ending April 27, 1839.

— I do not doubt the opinion respecting these facts and dates: "Behold, there are very many in the open valley; and lo, they are very dry."

FOURTH SOCIETY.

On the first Sunday in Sept., 1838, with concurrence of Mr. Sawyer and Mr. Le Fevre, meetings for public worship were held in Apollo Saloon, 410 Broadway; and in that Saloon, a week later, the Fourth Universalist Society was organized, with Rev. William Whittaker as pastor. There was room, it was thought, for another Universalist Society in New York: Mr. Whittaker had been in the ministry six years, and was of fair repute: Besides which, he assured the friends that he could labor one year without compensation.

Dec. 9, 1838, the Society removed to the New Jerusalem Chapel, 486 Pearl Street, the meeting-house in which Mr. Mitchell officiated previously to occupancy of the church in Duane Street. — April 28, 1839, the Society took possession by treaty of the church in Duane Street, (which since Mr. Mitchell's decease had been occupied by Baptists, and more recently by Mr. Pickering,) and the occasion was celebrated in three sermons by Rev. Hosea Ballou. — In that church, for about fifteen months, Mr. Whittaker proclaimed Universalism with all the energy at his command; and by letter, dated July 22, 1840, he informed the Trustees of the Society that he had renounced Universalism, and piously entreated them to Go and do likewise, immediately!

This event and its connections awakened and

intensified vigorous controversy in pulpit and in pew, in print and by speech, for several months; and even now, after the lapse of a third of a century, I peruse the articles from the pen of Mr. Sawyer in admiration of his dignified indignation. Starting with a collation of cardinal facts, he demonstrated the hypocrisy of the new candidate for holy orders, and utterly demolished the barricades erected by collateral issues. This, in few words, is the history of the conversion:

Sunday, July 12, Mr. Whittaker preached in Stamford, Conn., and was earnest and impressive in the delivery of a sermon he had frequently delivered elsewhere, embodying his reasons for rejecting the doctrine of endless misery.

At noon, on Thursday, July 16, he met the chairman of his Board of Trustees, and had a long conversation with him relating to their Society affairs, and in the afternoon he visited another Trustee on the same business. He was told, what indeed he already knew, that there existed much dissatisfaction with him in the Society; that owing to the course he had pursued, the Trustees had lost confidence in him as a pastor; that the Society could not prosper under his labors, and indeed was declining; that he could not remain much longer there; and finally he was advised to embrace the first opportunity for changing his position. He exhibited displeasure, said he did not like to be driven away, and would stay till next spring.

On Friday, July 17, he had an interview with Mr. Crowell, a very zealous member of Mr. Hatfield's church, and there, so far as could be learned, he first expressed his doubts of the truth of Universalism, and on Saturday, July 18, fully renounced his faith in the presence of the same individual.

On Sunday, July 19, he preached in two of the Universalist churches in New York, and was in his own pulpit in the evening. On Monday morning he received his weekly stipend, as usual. On Tuesday, July 21, he was visited by Mr. Hatfield, and toward evening his letter of renunciation, dated 22d, was dispatched to the Trustees of the Fourth Universalist Society.

Any "orthodox" clergyman who should, under corresponding conditions, announce himself a convert to Universalism, would be loathed if not despised. There was no pretence that the movings of the great change had a beginning until after that Sunday service in Stamford; and the labor of the mountain was over within less than a week. Surely the process of conviction, conversion, regeneration, redemption, sanctification, justification, glorification, was speedier than the journey of a more celebrated personage, who, according to Milton, was nine days in falling from heaven into hell.

Apart from hypocrisy, the transformation of this man can be accounted for only on the

hypothesis of miraculous interposition of Providence; yet whoso takes that ground respecting him, under the circumstances, will do so with large economy of charity, and be beyond the reach of argument.

— Nov. 1, 1840, Rev. I. D. Williamson took charge of the Society, which largely prospered under his administration. They continued to occupy the Duane St. Church until late in the winter of the year following, when the owners of the property, it seems, were required to close up their affairs by a sale of the premises, and the Fourth Society removed to the lecture-room of the College of Physicians and Surgeons in Crosby Street, between Broome and Spring Street.

Here they continued until the first of May, 1841, at which time they took possession of what was known as the Bowery Church, which they had purchased. The entrance had been from the Bowery, but the piece of ground used as a passage way, being of large value for business purposes, had been sold, after which the entrance was in Elizabeth Street.

In April, 1842, Mr. Williamson sailed for England, for health's sake — also as a delegate and representative of the Odd Fellows — and returned to his charge in the close of July, his parish having meanwhile been acceptably served by Rev. Wm. S. Ballou.

In the latter part of 1843, Mr. Williamson,

having been greatly troubled by a bronchial affection, resigned and removed to the South; and early in May, 1844, was succeeded in the pastorate by Rev. Moses Ballou — who resigned in the autumn of 1845, and returned to Portsmouth.

Rev. Thomas L. Harris was ordained as pastor March 12, 1846, and resigned in the summer of 1847. The Society sold its meeting-house in Elizabeth Street in May, 1847, and occupied Apollo Saloon, by many supplies, until the spring of 1848, and then took possession of a church it had purchased, corner of Murray and Church Streets — Rev. E. H. Chapin being the pastor.

This property, proving to be "too far down town" for worship, whatever it may have been for business, was sold in October, 1852, for an advance of nearly $30,000; and shortly afterward, for three times that advance, the Society bought the edifice known as the Church of the Divine Unity, in Broadway above Spring Street. There was a liberal entrance to a very spacious audience-chamber in the rear, the building extending to Crosby Street. There was accommodation, it was thought, for sixteen hundred people or more,—and seldom was there a vacant seat.

This edifice, also, being "too far down town," or "not far enough up town," was sold, and Oct. 11, 1865 the corner-stone of a modern church

was laid, on Broadway and Forty-Fifth Street,—the congregation worshipping in the large Hall of the Cooper Union until the dedication of the Church of Divine Paternity, Dec. 3, 1866. Rev. E. H. Chapin, D. D., pastor.

—This congregation, having its beginnings in a lowly estate and making progress in many complications of difficulty, has risen into a condition of enviable distinction. Many men of wealth, and otherwise influential, are connected with it, and the hand of liberality is ever open. Especially is this the case in every denominational enterprise.—The early promise of the renowned preacher has been more than fulfilled. His strong elucidations of divine principles always marked him as a distinctive Universalist, not of the dogmatic order but of the spiritual; but I am persuaded that he latterly pushes farther than ever into sublime results. What besides Universalism is a fully-fitting theme for the inspiration of his power?

Resumed from page 300.

The announcement of Mr. Whittaker's conversion to Universalism in July, 1832, was made "with no ordinary feelings of pleasure," because he came to us with a clear, manly record. We could not use the same language in the announcement of his renunciation of Universalism in 1840; yet while we lamented that he had done himself a gross wrong, there was room for

congratulation that the facts made him of indifferent value to his sympathizers.

After a few months of turbulence in the religious elements, he went to his own place, and the Universalists thanked the Lord for the patience and perseverance of the saints.

Foremost of the papers that made capital out of this transaction was the *New York Evangelist*, the New School Presbyterian organ, in charge of Rev. E. N. Johnson; and *his* chief helper as a correspondent was Rev. Mr. Hatfield. The latter assumed the name *Enoch*, probably because he claimed to "walk with God," though there were times when he seemed to stand and sit, as well as walk, in very different company.

In the *Evangelist* of Nov. 7, 1840, appeared an editorial article entitled "Organized Rebellion," in which Universalism was ruthlessly characterized as

> An expression of that supreme selfishness which for its own gratification would destroy the universe and dethrone the Almighty,— as the most daring form of organized rebellion against the divine government,— as a most treasonable, rebellious and hideous system of doctrine, and a double-distilled decoction of enmity against the Most High, &c. And Universalists were represented as having organized synagogues of Satan and a regularly-ordained ministry, for the purpose of defending the Arch-Apostate against the penalty under which he suffers. Its professors were spoken of as having publicly leagued together for the purpose of waging war upon the divine government, aspersing the divine character, and resisting the divine administration — and as unfurl-

ing their banner around the very altar of God, and denouncing his justice, while they appropriate his name and honors to an imaginary deity.

All this foaming-out of shame was associated with a sort of challenge to a written discussion of endless punishment, which the editor pronounced "a fundamental principle in the moral government of God," at the same time mercifully advising the Universalists not to engage in any such controversy, as it would certainly issue in their discomfiture!

Nevertheless if you *will* have it so, bring forth your strong reasons, and make the attempt. Let them come up, if they dare, to the help of fundamental falsehood against the word and testimony of God. We can assure them that they shall have enough to do. We will meet all their arguments as well as we can. The evangelical press in general, will not, we presume, be backward to vindicate the insulted majesty of our common Lord.

All this, and more in the same strain, was addressed to the "Universalist press," and especially to the *Messenger* and *Union:* Whereupon Mr. Sawyer announced his acceptance of the challenge, and forthwith published Letter No. 1, on the simple question, Whether endless punishment is the proper penalty of the divine law?

This prompt attention seemed to cool the controversial ardor of *The Evangelist*, for the editor immediately protested that if the Universalists expected him to copy their articles into his columns, they entirely misapprehended his lan-

guage. "What we said we shall strictly fulfil; but we shall expect those who attack the doctrine of endless punishment to provide their own means of communication with the public." Aside from the stilted bravery of the challenge, this seemed reasonable — and after Mr. Sawyer had issued six letters on the question, his attention was attracted by the concentrated energies of *Enoch*, in "Universalism as it is, or a Text Book of Modern Universalism in America. By Rev. Edwin F. Hatfield," 350 pages 12 mo., 1841.

As viewed by sympathizers with *The Evangelist*, this book had the proportions if not the qualities of an ogre, but as viewed from the Universalist elevation it was a pitiful exhibition of spleen, distorted facts and exploded argument. It was reviewed by Mr. Sawyer in nineteen articles, closing with August, 1841,— afterwards issued in book-form.

There was nothing strictly new in Mr. Hatfield's endeavor, only a reproduction of the scandals of Rev. M. H. Smith and the feebler experiences of Rev. William Whittaker — together with olden textual commentary, often answered by Universalists: Nor was there anything strictly new in the review, as to matter, but both the manner and the matter, I suspect, somewhat interfered with Mr. Hatfield's prayers, especially when he learned that a lot of his book was sold at a Philadelphia trade-sale for five

cents per copy. He had however the consolatory assurance that a lot of Parker's Lectures brought only three.*

The latter consisted of a series of anti-Universalist discourses, first preached and printed by Rev. Joel Parker in Rochester, ten years previously, and reviewed in print at the time. They were re-preached in sundry pulpits and re-printed in New York in 1841. There had already been enough white paper spoiled in printing these lectures, and more than enough in a book-review: For which reason the present canvass of its merits was from the pulpit and through the weekly press.

It would seem as if in 1841, and a few years later, the adversary had come down (or up) on the land in great wrath, knowing that his time was short. The Miller Epidemic raged violently, but a more celebrated or notorious instrumentality was Rev. M. H. Smith. With some talent, a smooth tongue, and wholly unconscious of any distinction between truth and falsehood, excepting the answer of a present purpose, he claimed to be a star fallen from the Universalist firmament. Yet so palpably discreditable were the facts of his history, that he never would have risen higher than his knees, to beg the Lord's pardon, had not the evangelical clergy lifted him up and made him an implement in the war against Universalism.

* See Universalist Union of March 26, 1842.

Confessedly an argument would not be answered by proof that Lucifer is its author, but in the example in hand, and that of Elder Knapp, there was no reliance on argument. Certainly there were settled pastors in New York, of equal or greater learning and eloquence, but they would fain try the forlorn experiment of doing the Lord's work with the adversary's tools, and vagabond-revivalists were endorsed and applauded in the ratio of scandalous utterance.

Universalists, standing on the defensive as to alleged facts, lawfully impeached the vendors, and at the same time demanded attention to the vital question. This had nothing to do with either the professions or the characters of men, but with the character of the Supreme Being and the aims and results of his government. All hideous details of error are grouped around the central thought of endless punishment, and Mr. Sawyer's articles and book on that theme were designed to dig up the foundations of the terrible wrong. This publication was a part of the great conflict of 1840–'44.

We may not doubt that the Universalists of New York and vicinity were zealously leagued in that era of contest; and if my narrative has dwelt particularly upon the doings of one of the brotherhood, it is because, as both preacher and editor, he stood in the fore-front of the hosts of the Lord.

I intend no disparagement in any direction,

nor can I forbear to add, that early membership in all the Universalist Societies in New York and parts adjacent, was largely the overflow or overgrowth of the mother-church in Orchard Street.

— Late in the summer of 1845, Mr. Sawyer resigned his position in New York, and took charge of the Clinton Institute, as Principal — also of a Theological School established on his own responsibility.

April 12, 1846, Rev. Otis A. Skinner assumed pastoral charge of the Second Society. He was a preacher of more than ordinary attraction — celebrated as a pastor — and of such happily-blended geniality and dignity, that his praise was on every lip. Diversified pulpit-service, pastoral duty in all its departments, amenity in social life — all these were vital under his administration, but he felt a continual yearning for return to his home in New England, and relinquished his relations in New York in the early spring of 1849.

Within two years of labor, while residing in Boston, he obtained an aggregate subscription of one hundred thousand dollars for educational purposes, (a result by many deemed impossible in that day;) removed to Illinois — was President of Lombard University — and afterward involved himself in irretrievable embarrassment by efforts to redeem or rebuild the wrecked fortune of a brother deceased. The knell of

this large-hearted man will some day die away into silence, but not until the last of the olden circle joins him in the land of rest.

— Rev. Cyrus H. Fay succeeded Mr. Skinner as pastor of the Second Society, May 1, 1849. Qualities eminently fitting him for the position could not overcome the weakening of local ties; and removals to other churches directly, and to other neighborhoods with the like result, determined him to relinquish the charge, Nov. 1, 1853, after a pastorate of four years and a half.

FIFTH UNIVERSALIST SOCIETY.

The slow and not-sure operations of the Missionary Society established a Station in Manhattan Hall, Jan. 31, 1841 — and thence sprung the organization known as the Fifth Universalist Society, Rev. B. B. Hallock, pastor for eighteen months. He resigned Oct. 29, 1842, and was succeeded by Rev. L. B. Mason for six or eight months — then Rev. S. H. Lloyd for a few months. Then Rev. J. N. Parker was settled, May 12, 1844. A meeting-house on Fourth Street, between Avenues A and B, was erected in the summer of 1845, and dedicated Sept. 10.

Mr. Parker resigned April 1, 1846, and was succeeded by Rev. Z. Baker, Oct. 11, 1846, who continued until the spring of 1848. This administration seems to have marked the culmination of a controversy in the New York Association, respecting the conditions of Fellowship and

Membership. Several of the ministers, it was alleged substantially, had given heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of demons which turn from the truth, and others had taken ground in denial of miracles and the authority of the Christian revelation. Formal charge and trial would have ministered questions rather than godly edifying; and so the Association, at its session in Southold, Nov. 3, 1847, decreed that

"No minister shall receive or retain the fellowship of this Association, who shall not subscribe and file with the Standing Clerk the following declaration: — I sincerely declare that I receive the Bible as containing a special revelation from God, which is the rule of Christian faith and practice; and that I will strive faithfully to preach its doctrines and inculcate its precepts."

This paper was signed by Menzies Rayner, Otis A. Skinner, Thomas B. Thayer, William S. Balch, S. C. Bulkeley, Shaler J. Hillyer, Sampson M. Smith, Henry Lyon, H. R. Walworth, O. Whiston. Certain brethren declined to affix their names — some of them because they denied the authority or expediency of such a test of fellowship, and others because they would not be bound by any such restrictions. As a consequence, their names were stricken from (more properly, did not appear in) the roll of membership: Rev. J. K. Ingalls, Z. Baker, William Fishbough, S. B. Brittain, — also Thomas L. Harris, I believe. — I state the facts in brief, without comment; and will only add that there

was no questioning of either the ability or the personal worthiness of these men. The controversy rested wholly on faith and its formal profession.

— Rev. I. D. Williamson became pastor of the Fifth Society, May 1, 1849, and resigned on the first of September, of *his own free-will*, and *not of necessity*, (though some would say, of necessity and also of choice.) Rev. H. R. Nye took charge about the first of July, 1850—the pulpit, during these long pastoral vacancies, having been supplied by different (and by few indifferent) preachers.

Mr. Nye relinquished his position, May 1, 1851. The meeting-house, in a degenerating locality, was sold in August, the people having determined to go "further up town." There was a reservation of right to occupy the premises a portion of every Sunday, until the congregation should be suited elsewhere; and Mr. Nye for several months supplied on Sunday afternoons.

In Dec., 1851, Rev. Hosea Ballou was in New York, and preached fourteen sermons in all, mostly in the lately-sold Chapel; and in Feb., 1852, the Society leased the Lecture Hall of the Medical College in Fourteenth Street. There was no pastor yet, in July of that year, but there was stated worship. Rev. J. H. Campbell was there in September.

Dec. 5, Mr. Sawyer (after seven years of service in Clinton,) made a temporary arrangement

as pastor of the Fifth Society in New York, and in April, 1853, extended it for a year longer. May 1, the Society removed to Dodsworth Hall on Broadway, and pastor and people made vigorous exertions to buy or build a desirable church up-town, — all which ended in disappointment. Before half his term had expired, Mr. Sawyer was unanimously invited to his old home in Orchard Street — made vacant by the resignation of Mr. Fay.

This seemed to seal the fate of the Fifth Society. Its membership, mostly, was merged in other organizations — and its history is at an end, with this explanation: A gathering of children and their friends, inspired, I learn, by the presence and energy of Dr. Needham, for a time assumed the name of a relinquished Sunday School, and occupied Oriental Hall. It was thence removed to Plympton Buildings in Ninth Street, and is now established in Chickering Hall, 11 East Fourteenth Street, under the title of the Fifth Universalist Society. Divine service is held every Sunday morning and afternoon, in the leadership of Rev. Charles F. Lee, whose pastorate dates July, 1870.

— Without sitting in judgment upon the many changes in the pastoral relation recorded in this history, we surely may hope for the coming of the day when every clergyman will have life-long dwelling among his own people.

SIXTH SOCIETY.

For many years past the religious world in New York has been "moving up town." Whether there has been an upward movement, religiously, might be a question, with the usual two sides. Business has been crowding into down-town quarters, hemmed in by families of lowly means; and people, increased in substance, enlarging also their style of living, have for years been pressing into the brown-stone sections of the city. And whithersoever the wealthier families went, went also the places of amusement, the great hotels and the churches.

Universalists, so far as they had means, have been in the same up-town current. A few of them, faithful, resolute souls, mostly from the Bleecker St. Church, in July, 1851, leased a Hall at the corner of Eighth Avenue and 25th St.—had regular afternoon worship on Sundays, led by the settled pastors—and organized the Sixth Universalist Society and Sunday School, in October of that year. Rev. N. Snell was invited to the pastorate in May, 1852. A small, neat church on 24th Street, between Avenues 8 and 9, purchased in October, was refitted and occupied in Jan., 1853.

Mr. Snell resigned May 1, 1854, and Rev. Asher Moore was engaged, as supply until autumn and as pastor from Oct. 1. At the expiration of three years of pastoral service, he re-

signed, and after a vacancy of eleven months was succeeded by Rev. J. H. Shepard — during whose administration the 24th St. Church was sold, and a church in 20th Street was purchased May 1, 1859. A few months later, Mr. Shepard made way for Rev. E. G. Brooks, who continued for eight years.

The duration of the term was highly creditable in these days of change, but the Society seems to have sojourned in the land of promise, as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles.

The cry was for up-town, and the late purchase was retrograde — a step afterward amended. The church in 20th Street was sold March, 1866. For nearly a year the Society worshipped in Everett Hall, and then took possession of a new purchase in 35th Street between Fifth and Sixth Avenues, known as the Church of our Saviour.

For this Society there now seemed good hope through grace of permanency in location, but very soon there was removal in the pulpit end of the sanctuary. Dr. Brooks resigned in Oct., 1867, to become General Secretary of the General Convention, and Rev. James M. Pullman took pastoral charge of the Society on the third Sunday in March, 1868.

CHAPTER XIV.

Rev. T. J. Sawyer in his old Parish — Busy Term — Discussions with Rev. Isaac Westcott — Rev. A. H. Robinson — Orchard St. Church abandoned — Rev. Dr. Thompson on Love and Penalty — Not a new Argument — Answered in one Query — Drs. Sawyer and Williamson on Convergent lines — A Joyful Meeting — Rev. G. T. Flanders — Rev. G. L. Demarest — A Prophecy — Mission School — Harlem Society — Brooklyn Tabernacle — Church of the Restoration — Church of the Redeemer — Church of Our Father — Williamsburg — Green Point — Centenary School — Memoranda — Sketches — Periodicals.

UNIVERSALISM IN NEW YORK.

HAVING resigned his position as pastor of the Fifth Society, Rev. T. J. Sawyer assumed the charge of his ancient parish in Orchard Street, in the close of Nov., 1853.

There need be no wonderment that Mr. Fay was weary of his position before he had completed his engagement. Orchard Street was decidedly on the down-town grade. The neighborhood had become undesirable for a well-to-do residence, and many influential families had removed. Garbage carts in front of the church were more useful on week-days than ornamental on Sundays. It was nevertheless hoped, without detracting from the talent, worthiness or

fidelity of any one, that a revival of the old times would follow a revival of old memories.

The winter of 1853–'54 was a season of most effectual labor among the Universalists of New York. Special lectures were delivered by all the pastors, and large congregations attested a wide and deep interest in the cause of Universalism.

There was a climax in the spring of 1854. A public discussion of the question, Do the Scriptures teach the final salvation of all men? to be held in the Broadway Tabernacle, was agreed upon by Mr. Sawyer and Rev. Isaac Westcott, pastor of the Laight St. Baptist Church. Beginning April 4, four evenings of two successive weeks, eight in all, comprised the space devoted to the interview. Universalist clergymen avowed their fellowship with and confidence in Mr. Sawyer by being on the platform, and clergymen of several "evangelical sects" by their presence gave token of faith in Mr. Westcott, as the champion of orthodoxy. We may believe that he invited some to the platform whom he would not invite to the communion of the Lord's table.

Near the close of the debate, Mr. Sawyer proposed to Mr. Westcott a discussion, on the same terms, of the other side of the question. The proposition was accepted and the discussion held, beginning Sept. 26, 1854.

Both the debates, as taken down by re-

porters, were issued in book-form. There were, presumably, opposite opinions as to the merits of the debaters and of their creeds, but Universalists, where even moderate talent is exhibited, (certainly it was of a high order in this example,) have always the advantage in such conflicts. It was a great thing gained to put Universalism, in contrast with every dominant theory, before an attentive audience of more than two thousand people.

Less numerously attended, perhaps less interesting, was a public discussion in the Orchard St. Church, beginning January 5, 1857, between Rev. A. H. Robinson, a Methodist clergyman of fair abilities, and Mr. Sawyer — three evenings being devoted to each of these questions: 1. Do the Holy Scriptures teach that the atonement of Jesus Christ is vicarious, in the sense usually believed in the so-called evangelical churches? 2. Do the Holy Scriptures teach that man's final destiny is determined by his faith or actions in this life? 3. Or do they, on the other hand, teach that ultimately all men shall be made holy and happy? 4. Do the Scriptures teach that the punishment of sinners shall be absolutely without end?

— Of late years I have several times felt inclined to address the Divinity Schools of the land, beseeching them to furnish a *new* argument against Universalism. On the other hand, things new and old are continually breaking

forth, from all heights and depths, in confirmation of the sublime connections of all-redeeming love.

— In the summer of 1858, renewed efforts were made by the Second Society and its pastor, to *Go higher up* in locality as well as to *Go up higher* in a devout experience. Whatever was the result in the latter respect, there was renewed failure in the former. Religion had become a Sunday luxury as well as a daily necessity, and the price of lots and of brown stone had advanced beyond the means of people reared, or rather remaining, in Orchard Street.

Nov. 20, 1859, there were commemorative and farewell services in the old hive, which thenceforward was to be abandoned; and on the Sunday following the congregation took possession of the Hall of the Historical Library, Second Avenue, corner of 11th Street.

About this time, Rev. Dr. Thompson, pastor of the Presbyterian congregation in the Broadway Tabernacle, delivered a series of discourses against Universalism, entitled "Love and Penalty, or eternal punishment consistent with the Fatherhood of God." Whatever may be said of his theology, his repute for talent and piety was of the first class; and I am happy to mention that the personal regard of his friends was testified, recently, (1871) by gift of a life-long competency, on his retirement from the pulpit, after a pastorate of many years.

Dr. Thompson, in lecturing against Universalism, acknowledged it worthy of profound attention, and the Universalists acknowledged *him* worthy of reply. Mr. Ballou, in the Bleecker St. Church, followed him, reviewing his twelve lectures progressively as delivered; and when the lectures appeared in book-form, they were reviewed by Mr. Sawyer from his pulpit, and by the editor of the *Ambassador.*

The *new* argument against Universalism had not yet been found. Sixty years earlier, Rev. Nathan Strong published a book, entitled "The Doctrine of Eternal Misery reconcilable with the Infinite Benevolence of God." Was it because the copyright of this monstrous absurdity had died out, that Dr. Thompson felt at liberty to reproduce it in his own name? Some one called the essay "a manual of damning love." Turn it over in your mind, and consider it thus: If endless punishment be consistent with the infinite benevolence and Fatherhood of God, what would be consistent with the infinite malevolence and Fatherhood of the Devil?

— In April, 1861, Dr. Sawyer resigned and removed from New York to his farm in Clinton; and about the same time Dr. Williamson resigned and removed from Philadelphia to his farm on the Ohio: — the former in the path of Free Will, the latter in the path of Divine Sovereignty — these brethren travelling on convergent lines, — to meet as the rays of the sun meet,

beyond the shadow of the earth, — to meet where the rule and the reason meet, where the precept and the purpose meet, where justice and mercy meet, where prayer is merged in praise, where the will of man is in harmony with the will of God, — to be glorified together in the one Father of All.

— Mr. Sawyer was succeeded in the pastoral office by Rev. G. T. Flanders, Sept. 1, 1861. There was both large attendance and an earnest hearing under the vital force of the new pastor — to which was added the co-operation of Mr. Sawyer, who, after a brief experience as a farmer, took editorial charge of the *Ambassador*, Jan. 1, 1863. In the early part of that year there was a series of stirring lectures on Christian Universalism, by Ballou, Blanchard, Peters, Fletcher, Brooks, Ellis, Flanders, Sawyer, — verily a strong company, — and there was urgent talk of "a new church up-town." It appeared, too, that for five years the net fund from the sale of Orchard St. Church had supplied deficiencies in the financial account, and it was plain that this could not last always. Better stop with a liberal sum in hand, waiting for the break of day, than to exhaust the fund at night-fall, and collapse in dreams.

The resignation of Mr. Flanders dated in the close of July, 1864, and Rev. G. L. Demarest took pastoral charge of the Society, May 1, 1865, and continued to the end, a term of two

years. Most manfully did he contend with the adversities of the position. Born and reared in the Second Society, and cherishing as cordial a love for his early religious home as ever did a graduate for his *alma mater*, he strove to revive the good church-mother. He was joined by faithful sons and daughters of the same stock; and the Sunday School, (with the pastor's proverbial talent and tact,) conference meetings, lectures, and all other wholesome influences, were never better tested than in this endeavor.

Why was it not successful? The answer reaches into the changed and changing condition of the great city. The families who came from Orchard Street to the new location, resided, generally, at an inconvenient distance — a difficulty endurable only for a time, — and new families, though crowding the Hall under the stimulus of a new thought, could not be attracted into permanent union unless by a new church. We may lament the fact, but we must accept the world on its own terms, if at all.

There was lamentation, but no remedy in present probabilities. The old organization was very dear to the memory of thousands in all the land, and everywhere the olden word was sounded, "The Lord shall count when he writeth up the people, that this man was born there." — And surely it is more than a dream, that the scattered members whom she nourished and brought up, stand upon their feet, with un-

covered heads, and hearken to a prophecy from the lips of the now dumb mother: "Thy dead men shall live: Together with my dead body shall they arise. Thy dew is as the dew of herbs: Awake and sing, ye who dwell in dust."

MISSION-SCHOOL-CHURCH.

In 1859 a Mission Sunday School was organized in a Hall on Third Avenue near 61st Street, and meetings for worship were held there on Sunday afternoons, the city pastors officiating with their accustomed willingness and energy. Overgrowing straitened accommodations, there have been several changes of location, until now it is established in Brevoort Hall, 155 East 54th Street, in charge of Dr. Needham and associates, after thirteen years of diligence and fidelity. Here, until lately, Rev. Charles Fluhrer preached once every Sunday; and when no professional preacher can be obtained, the service is conducted by Dr. Needham.

HARLEM UNIVERSALIST SOCIETY.

Beginning in the close of July, 1866, there was a stir in Harlem, which resulted in the organization of a Universalist Society. A great door and effectual was opened, but there were many adversaries, — some of them in the household, I believe. Recollection of embarrassments is scarcely desirable, but I have pleasure in mentioning that meetings for social worship,

first instituted in Washington Hall, and thence removed to National Hall, are well attended, with increase in knowledge and grace.

In Nov., 1869, the Missionary Society engaged the services of Rev. Charles Fluhrer, with a request that he would make Harlem a central point of his ministry. He is now the pastor.

CHURCHES IN BROOKLYN.

In Jan. and Feb., 1830, Mr. Fiske preached several Sundays in Brooklyn, with small prospect of permanency. Two years later, the experiment was repeated by Mr. Sawyer and Mr. Hillyer, finding place in a School House in Concord Street. On Feb. 27, 1832, there was at least the hopefulness of trial, for a Universalist Society was formed, William Burbank,* Secretary.

Meetings were continued, occasionally, in that School House and in the Hall of Apprentices' Library in Cranberry Street, until Feb., 1833. Brooklyn was then a small village, Universalists were few in number and sympathizers still less — for which reasons the enterprise was relinquished, in obedience to the command, Stand still, and see the salvation of God.

The believers stood still until the spring of

* This truly excellent brother, steadfast in the beginning, patient in the waiting, workful in the progress, exultant in the triumph of our religious organization in Brooklyn, perished in the close of 1846, in the great "Atlantic Disaster" on Long Island Sound.

1842. There was then a movement, for the First and Second Unitarian Societies had united, and they leased the meeting-house of the First to the Universalists. It was in Adams Street east of Pearl, neat, convenient, with sufficient accommodations for 250 or 300 worshippers — and there was an organ in the premises.

Sunday, April 3, 1842, it was opened by the lessees, the New York clergymen officiating. The pulpit was afterward supplied by different ministers until the coming of Rev. Abel C. Thomas in August. — About the middle of Nov., 1842, a site for a meeting-house was obtained at the corner of Fulton Street and Pineapple. Ground was broken early in December: the edifice was dedicated June 22, 1843: a Sunday School was organized Oct. 22.

In the autumn of 1844 Mr. Thomas removed to Cincinnati, and Rev. Thomas B. Thayer, leaving Lowell, followed him as far as Brooklyn in the spring of 1845, Rev. F. F. Thayer having been his herald for several months. Nor was he inclined to leave this desirable home, although the meeting-house was utterly destroyed by fire in Sept., 1848. On the contrary, he officiated in the Lyceum Hall until the Society had erected an attractive meeting-house at the corner of Munroe Place and Clarke Street — which was dedicated July 2, 1850. The former structure was known as the "*Brooklyn Tabernacle:*" The latter was the *Church of the Restoration.*

Mr. Thayer resigned May 1, 1851, and assumed his old position in Lowell, leaving this stipulation: "I will return at the end of a year, if the Brooklyn Society be not meanwhile united in another pastor." Pending the result, Rev. H. R. Nye officiated. At the end of half the term, it was clear that there was unity in *him* — Mr. Thayer was released from his engagement by his own request — and the question was settled to the satisfaction of all parties.

Mr. Nye resigned the pastorate, Jan. 1, 1857, and in February was succeeded by Rev. Henry Blanchard, with the condition that he was to be merely the preacher until September, and afterward the pastor.

At the end of the first year of this pastoral administration, a number of the members, chiefly attached to the Sunday School, established a branch organization at 274 Cumberland Street. The room secured for the purpose was dedicated on Sunday, Sept. 5, 1858, by Mr. Blanchard and Joshua P. Powers, Superintendent — with prophecy that this gathering was the nucleus of another Society.

Sunday evening services soon followed, by the Brooklyn pastor and the pastors in New York. — Shortly there were regular appointments for otherwise-disengaged clergymen. Oct. 27, 1860, Rev. N. M. Gaylord became the settled pastor of an organized Society, — all this being the result of two years of fidelity.

Mr. Gaylord resigned in June, 1861, and Rev. Charles Cravens succeeded him in August. Rev. L. J. Fletcher followed, during whose administration the corner-stone of a meeting-house was laid (Oct. 4, 1863) in Green Avenue, and the building, promptly erected, was dedicated as the *Church of the Redeemer.* — May 1, 1865, Mr. Fletcher resigned, and Rev. J. G. Bartholomew became the pastor, Feb. 1, 1866.

I care not to inquire the reasons or the cause, but a year developed the fact that the two churches and their pastors were not increasing in the graces of co-operation. Besides this, the church in Munroe Place felt "the up-town" influence, and prudent men advised a centralization in the church in Green Avenue. A treaty was negotiated accordingly. There was no denial or doubt of the character or ability of either of the pastors, but the two congregations could unite in neither. Mr. Blanchard resigned in July, 1868, and Mr. Bartholomew in November — in which latter month the church in Munroe Place was sold, and there was union in the church on Green Avenue, in the spring of 1869, under the ministry of Rev. E. C. Bolles.

Meanwhile a new Chapel was being erected on Clermont Avenue. The Green Avenue Church was sold for immediate delivery — the congregation for a season worshipped in Adelphi Academy — and occupied the new structure, June 19, 1870. Thus the Church of the

Restoration and the Church of the Redeemer were merged in the *Church of Our Father.*— Mr. Bolles resigned June 11, 1871, and Rev. H. R. Nye was elected to the pastorate, Jan. 1, 1872.

Thirty years ago the population of Brooklyn proper was little more than forty thousand, and the modern policy of letting Universalism alone had not been developed. Rev. Dr. Cox sent many a crowded sympathetic audience to The Tabernacle, by revilings which no man of reputation would dare to utter in this year of grace.

The changed condition of the religious world marks the growth of Universalism in this city of churches. Who are the popular clergymen, and what is the purport of their preaching? In the ratio that our principles have been absorbed, the growth of our organization has been retarded. It is not yet clear to either preachers or people, that Universalism is true, but it *is* clear in the pulpits of the most influential churches, that the mystical, merciless creeds of an age ago, are parts of a discarded mythology.

Williamsburg.

From March until Nov., 1833, strong efforts were made by Rev. S. J. Hillyer to establish stated meetings for worship in the village of Williamsburg — but without success.

In 1845 there had manifestly been a large increase of population, partly the overgrowth of

New York, including some Universalist families who sought a less crowded place of residence; and these soon awakened the hope of social religious privileges. They hired an inconvenient out-of-the-way building known as "The Tabernacle," which was the best they could procure, and for about three months they had the presence of different ministering brethren, mostly those residing in New York. They then engaged the services of Rev. Henry Lyon, as pastor, Aug. 10, 1845.

As *he* was on the Lord's side, the Lord was on *his* side; and so it came about that a Society was organized. In due time, a beautiful meeting-house, erected on the corner of Fourth and South Third Street, was dedicated March 15, 1848—the sermon being, very appropriately, by the pastor—and within a month a Sunday School was established by the nursing-fathers and nursing-mothers of the Church.

Mr. Lyon having resigned as pastor, to engage in missionary work, Rev. Day K. Lee was elected pastor, and took charge on the first Sunday in Dec., 1849. After five years of service he resigned, and was followed by Rev. W. W. King, who in turn resigned, and was succeeded by Rev. B. Peters, March 2, 1856. His closing service was in the close of Jan., 1864, and in the beginning of Jan., 1865, Rev. A. J. Canfield took pastoral charge. His withdrawal, in Aug., 1870, left a vacancy, which was supplied on the first of

July, 1871, by Rev. Almon Gunnison, who is at present the pastor.

Green Point.

By the energy and the agents of the N. Y. Missionary Society, meetings for public worship were established in Green Point, and a Society was organized in Jan., 1857. Financial condition did not at first justify the engagement of a pastor, but occasional supplies and the generous offices of the settled ministers in New York and vicinity, especially Rev. B. Peters, so vitalized the believers that they erected a neat place of worship, which was dedicated Sept. 14, 1862.

Rev. Frank Maguire was first settled as pastor, Feb., 1863. Rev. E. Fitzgerald succeeded him, April, 1865. Rev. J. H. Shepard followed, Dec. 1, 1866 — succeeded by Rev. S. S. Hibberd, March 1, 1868. Rev. Charles F. Lee is pastor at this date, 1872.

CENTENARY SCHOOL.

In the latter part of 1869, a few believers, chiefly from the church in Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, were moved to hire a very humble room at 581 De Kalb Avenue, and commence a Sunday School. Increasing prosperity emboldened them to purchase a lot on Nostrand Avenue near De Kalb, and erect a house of the Lord for the Lord's children. With fifteen teachers, one hundred and fifty pupils, and forty

families, there is certainly the beginning of a noble ending. Until March 1, 1872, there was public worship every Sunday afternoon, conducted mostly by the settled pastors of the neighborhood; and then came Rev. Almon Gage on a brief engagement, statedly. Surely this may be considered a prophecy of another Universalist Society in Brooklyn.

SKETCHES AND MEMORANDA.

In the progress of this narrative, I have incidentally touched the garments of several departed Universalists. I here add several of the ministry, now deceased, who either began pulpit-life or were once pastors in New York or Brooklyn — also a few of the laity, by reason of peculiar marks — to freshen the memory of them in this land of forgetfulness.

Rev. Thomas F. King was brought into a religious life under the ministry and influence of Mr. Mitchell. His early sermons were preached in "the village" of Greenwich, as known in that day, and in parts adjacent to New York. He was afterward settled in Hudson — also subsequently in Portsmouth, N. H., and in Charlestown, Mass., — in which last-named place he died Sept. 13, 1839, in the forty-second year of his age. With overflowing health for many years, he felt it a luxury to live, and few men carried more sunshine into all social circles. He was not a great preacher, but he was a fine reader, with a voice of round, mellow power; and whoso once heard him sing the fugue-bass of any of the ancient hymns of the Church, would never forget it. Hardening of the pylorus destroyed him gradually, but he was more than conqueror from first to last.

Rev. Nehemiah Dodge was born in Conn., July 3, 1770. He was of Baptist lineage — entered the ministry of that communion at the early age of nineteen, and about 1821, after several years of patient study, became a convert to Universalism. He preached in several parts of his native State — was pastor of Prince St. Church for one year, ending in the summer of 1825; and from that date onward, so long as health permitted, he officiated wherever needed. He departed in the full assurance and joy of faith, in New London, Jan. 3, 1843, aged seventy-two years and six months. He is remembered as a man of sound mind and steadfast integrity.

Philo Price came from Norwalk, Conn., to New York, full of the courage and zeal of hope, and commenced the publication of the *Christian Messenger* in Oct., 1831. For nearly sixteen years of many experiences, he was in control of the establishment as publisher and one of the editors — industrious, courteous, and hopeful. He was a good though somewhat diffuse writer, with whom Universalism was all-in-all. He was a man of admirable qualities in mind and life, and all who knew him well, do sincere homage and honor to his memory. He died in Williamsburg, June 17, 1868, aged threescore and ten.

Rev. T. Fiske died in New York, Dec. 13, 1867, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. His diversified erratic career was ended suddenly, by apoplexy.

James Hall was one of the early disciples of Edward Mitchell, but became connected with the Prince St. Church. After the failure of that organi-

zation he stood aloof until the Orchard St. Church was secured. He gave one thousand dollars — a large sum in that day — toward the purchase of that property. Toward the close of his life, he resided for some time in Williamsburg, and thence removed to Elizabeth, N. J., where he died, Dec. 20, 1867, in the ninetieth year of his age. He was a truly religious man, anchored within the vail.

William B. Marsh, born in Exeter, N. H., had his convictions of Universalism confirmed, when quite a lad, by the ministry of Rev. Thomas F. King in Portsmouth. He came to New York as a journeyman printer, and he and Horace Greeley were for some time compositors in the same office, and were hearty friends. His talent as a journalist put him in charge of the *Brooklyn Eagle* as editor in 1841, and there he continued to the end. He was an exception to the rule (if it *be* a rule) that party-political interests interfere with higher and nobler associations. With *him* home came first, and then the Church. Around these were the groups of friendship and love — and beyond, all that pertains to business. I do believe he was one of the pure in heart. He departed this life February 26, 1846, in the thirty-third year of his age.

Carlos D. Stuart, born in Berlin, Vermont, July 28, 1820, died in Huntingdon, L. I., Jan. 22, 1862, in the forty-third year of his age. Though not rising into distinction and applause, he was a poet of more than ordinary merit, and of fine literary taste generally. He was also a journalist of repute, being for several years an associate editor of the N. Y. *Sun*. Not, however, on this account do I record

his name in these pages, nor simply as a genial brother in the gospel, but as one whose talents were openly consecrated to the cause of Universalism. He was *of* us in the sentiment, and *with* us in personal presence and influence — an encomium not deserved by many public men who have had the blessing of its baptism. His pure life illustrated his faith, and his death was a seal of its power.

Rev. Henry Lyon departed this life in Williamsburg, Sept. 16, 1866, of consumption, in the fifty-third year of his age. For a few years of his life he was known among us as a pastor, but mostly he was engaged as a missionary in New York and the region round about — also as agent of the *Ambassador*, succeeding Mr. Hallock in that responsible office in 1852. "Not slothful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord," appeared to be his practical motto. Illness, having death as its prophetic end, did not disturb his equanimity, and he passed serenely and hopefully into the light that shineth behind light.

Rev. B. B. Hallock perished in the terrible Mast Hope disaster on the Erie Rail Road, July 14, 1869. Beginning as Principal of a Select School, he passed into the pulpit of Evangelism, and always adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things. He was for a brief space one of the proprietors of the *Ambassador*, and afterward the agent of the establishment until 1852, but for many years he devoted his life to the ministry, as missionary or as pastor. Unpretending in his demeanor, he largely ministered to the joy and comfort of many souls by his clear thought and happy utterance.

Rev. L. B. Mason, who for a few months was pastor of the Fifth Society, is in my remembrance in the freshness and the hope of youth; and there is melancholy in the reflection that his gentle spirit should have had crushing experiences. Without capital, he vainly struggled with business-perplexities in the West — served as a Chaplain in the Army of the Republic — was stricken by consumption, and departed for the better country, May 22, 1864. Why need I inquire for his age according to the flesh? He has renewed his youth as the eagles.

Alice Cary departed this life Feb. 12, 1871, aged fifty-two, and *Phœbe Cary* July 31, 1871, aged forty-seven. The spirit of poesy found them in the clover-fields, and in the blossoming orchards, and in the whispering forests of Ohio; and here, in the midst of the din of a great city, they poured forth the inspiring strains of a faith which shall yet subdue the world into harmony.

Rev. Carl Schaum, for some time resident in East New York, was pastor of a German congregation. His record in the neighboring Universalist ministry was that of an humble, sincere brother of more than ordinary education, whose talent was consecrated to religious uses. Finding himself too far advanced in life to meet the buffetings of the many, and seeing little hope of an increase of the few, he exchanged his property for a quiet homestead in Kingston, N. J., where he died, August 1, 1871 — at about threescore.

The Second Universalist Society continues its organization. There is an annual meeting for the

election of trustees and the care-taking of an invested fund, now amounting to about thirteen thousand dollars. There is also a quarterly meeting for reunion in worship. The prophecy of a new church will some day be fulfilled.

Two Illuminated Windows of much artistic merit, and therefore of much pecuniary value, were in the pulpit end of the old Orchard St. Church. They were presented many years ago by Barzillai Ransom. He was then a member of the Society, but afterward removed to Brooklyn, where he was one of the standards of Zion until his death — a devout Christian and a most courteous and liberal gentleman.— In the sale of the Orchard Street property those windows were reserved. They are now among the adornments of the church in Stamford Conn., presented by the Second Society in New York.

The Harsen Ministerial Relief Fund, controlled by the N. Y. State Convention, was founded by Cornelius Harsen, who died in 1838. His bequest of six thousand dollars has grown into goodly proportions by the thoughtfulness of others. His son, Dr. Jacob Harsen, who died on the last day of 1862, aged fifty-four, bequeathed ten thousand dollars. Margaret Ritter Halstead and Rev. Dolphus Skinner, each one thousand. John Blyer, three thousand. Jeremiah Richardson and a friend, contributed five hundred each. Others have given or contributed as large or larger sums in proportion to their means, the aggregate being now (1872) about thirty-two thousand. To this must be added Friend Burt's legacy of three thousand dollars, payable in the close of 1873. By gift of Mr. Dockstradter, a farm

of one hundred acres will revert to the fund on the decease of certain persons named in the deed. I find also a memorandum of July, 1865, that Sarah A. Sturtevant had made a reversionary bequest of twenty-five hundred dollars. "Verily, verily I say unto you, Wheresoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her."

The Rooms of the Young Men's Universalist Association, 1288 Broadway, supplied with current literature, are open every week-day to all who desire admission, and there are gatherings in the evenings, for reading, conversation, brotherly reunion, and occasional lectures, not restricted to religious themes. Young men residing in the city, or who come to the city seeking employment, or for a brief visit, will here be in the circle of friendship. If they bring satisfactory testimonials, they will find a helpful hand in procuring genteel residence — also good counsel and co-operation in every laudable effort. — Advise as we may to the contrary, many of the enterprising youth of the land *will* seek their fortune in the great metropolis; and it should be considered both a duty and a pleasure to perpetuate around them the wholesome influences of home. Are the children of *this* world wiser than *we?*

PERIODICALS IN NEW YORK.

Gospel Herald, edited by Henry Fitz. Begun April 22, 1820. Quarto, four pages, weekly, during the first volume. The succeeding volumes of the series of seven, were in large octavo, eight pages weekly, for vols. ii, iii, iv. Volumes v, vi, vii were issued in fortnightly numbers. Series closed with May 5, 1827.

Olive Branch, edited by Rev. Abner Kneeland. During vol. i, quarto weekly eight pages. Begun May 26, 1827. At the beginning of vol. ii, the list of the *Christian Inquirer*, issued by Rev. Barnabas Bates, was merged in the *Olive Branch*. Only a half-volume of this was published. Large octavo weekly. Ended near the close of 1828.

Dialogical Instructor, a small semi-monthly folio sheet, taking its title from the design that the major portion of its editorials should be written in the form of dialogues. It was edited by Rev. Adin Ballou, and published by an association at one dollar per annum. No. 1 was issued Jan. 5, 1828, and No. 13, being the last, was dated June 21, 1828. Its list of subscribers was then transferred to the *Trumpet and Magazine*, Boston.

Gospel Herald, second series, by Rev. T. Fiske, editor and proprietor. Issued on alternate Saturdays. Octavo, each number sixteen pages. Begun Jan. 3, 1829. A few numbers of vol. iii were issued in the early part of 1831.

Christian Messenger, vol. i, no. 1, was issued by Philo Price, Oct. 29, 1831. Under several different titles, *Universalist Union*, *Christian Ambassador*, *Christian Leader*—and with sundry changes of editors and proprietors, it has, without interruption, testified the gospel of the grace of God for more than forty years. We can hardly over-estimate its value, during this long battle of life.

Young Christian, a monthly magazine for children, by G. L. Demarest, was commenced in New York Jan., 1851, and closed its history in Ohio in 1859.

Guiding Star, for Sunday Schools and for children everywhere: Four pages quarto every alternate week. Commenced July 4, 1868. Edited by Mrs. Caroline A. Soule.

— In the literary section of our history as a people, no name is more honorably distinguished than that of *Mrs. Caroline M. Sawyer.* For many years she was editor of a youth's department in the *Christian Messenger*, conducted with signal ability; and the heart which found delight in the simple stories and hymns of childhood, has been throned in the higher if not nobler walks of literature.

APPENDIX.

First Meeting of Winchester and Murray, 1784.

Murray was forty-three and Winchester thirty-three years of age at the date of their first interview. Three years had passed since the ejectment of the latter from the Baptist Church; and the former, having reached Philadelphia by way of Good Luck, recorded "a prospect of being introduced to a clergyman of great eminence in the religious world . . . . now established in this city. . . . The way is opened for my introduction to this zealous, benevolent, and most uncommon man. . . . If requested, I shall certainly visit him." Then follows this genial paragraph:

"I have been by invitation to visit Mr. Winchester. He seems tottering on the verge of another world. I have been edified by his remarks; and although I am not united with him, in sentiment, in every particular, yet we join issue in one glorious and fundamental truth, the final restoration of the whole posterity of Adam, and on this ground I hail him as my friend and brother. Our interview has been extremely affecting. He clasped me with ardor to his bosom, and dropped such tears as friends are wont to shed upon meeting each other, after a long and painful separation."

Winchester and Dr. Priestly.

Twelve years later, we find Winchester and Priestly in ministerial fellowship in the Lombard St. Church. Sarah Hart, who resided in Philadelphia when Priestly's Sermons on Revealed Religion, first series, were delivered, in a letter to her brother from Exeter, Eng., dated Dec. 10, 1822, states that the Unitarians of Philadelphia contributed "some hundreds of dollars toward putting the interior" of the church in repair, and had the occupancy of it on Sunday forenoons for Priestly. Winchester assisted in the services, and preached in the afternoons, Priestly reciprocating. Winchester preached also in the evenings.*

Memorandum and Query.

Rev. Thomas Jones arrived in Philadelphia in Aug., 1796. Winchester had gone to New York in June — visited Philadelphia, it seems, early in the autumn — and removed in October to Hartford, where he died in the spring following. On Sunday, May 7, 1797, Mr. Jones preached an affectionate funeral sermon "concerning this great man. . . I had very little personal acquaintance with him," said the preacher, "having never seen him till last fall in this city."

Since writing the brief notice of Rev. Thomas Jones, on page 57, I have vainly sought to obtain information respecting his experience as teacher in a school in Philadelphia.

* Monthly Repository. The letter was copied into the Universalist Magazine, Boston, 1825, and Christian Telescope, i. 207. For knowledge of this letter, I am under obligations to Rev. Richard Eddy.

Concerning Rev. Abel Sarjent.

In Jan., Feb., and July, 1833, I published some account of the *Free Universal Magazine*, edited and issued by Rev. Abel Sarjent forty years before; and on page 54 of this History I acknowledge having lost trace of him in Baltimore in 1794.

After the foregoing pages were in stereotype, I learned that Abel Sarjent established several Free Churches in southern Ohio as early as 1800, and that he edited and published a periodical entitled *The Lamp of Liberty*, in Cincinnati, about 1827–'29. He was well known in Marietta and Belpre, O.; and Rev. Alpheus Sweet, who had seen the first of my articles above alluded to, as copied in the Utica *Magazine and Advocate*, by letter of March 23, 1833, advised the editor of that paper of these facts, and of the following:

> Bro. Sarjent in his first publications discarded the doctrine of the trinity and maintained the divine unity. And in this he was before Ballou, if not before any man in the United States. With the trinity, he rejected vicarious atonement.

Does not this statement lead us to the authorship of the Church Covenant of 1793, or earlier, referred to in page 263 of this History?

Mr. Sweet further states that Mr. Sarjent was on a visit to his old friends in Marietta and Belpre in 1829, before going to Indiana to end his days.

Rev. Richard Eddy, to whom I am indebted for calling my attention to this covered-up communication of 1833, and for other help in the progress of this history, will yet be the biographer of that remarkable wanderer, Abel Sarjent.

A Contribution to that Biography.

The *Christian Visitant*, i. 46, April, 1832, contains a series of questions first published in Baltimore by a Universalist preacher in Sept., 1792. The same thoughts, illustrations and style, are in the first and second articles in the *Free Universal Magazine* of 1793. Was Abel Sarjent the author?

In my first account of that Magazine, Jan., 1833, in the *Christian Messenger*, there is the following memorandum. I could not prove, but said,

I have no doubt that Bro. Sarjent was the author of the queries which caused so much excitement in Hanover, Pa., many years ago, an account of which was recently published by Bro. Grosh in the Utica *Magazine*, transferred to the Baltimore *Pioneer*, and noticed in an article in the *Expositor*. In the list of subscribers to Bro. Sarjent's work, I find that there were seven at Hanover, or McAllister's Town, Pa.

A memorandum in the *Messenger* of July, 1833, sets the date of that excitement about 1795. Did Mr. Sarjent tarry for a space in McAllister's Town, on his way from Baltimore to the West?

Another entered into Rest.

In deep solemnity I devote the closing paragraph of this book to the memory of JAMES CALLINGHAM, who departed this life April 22, 1872, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. In all the elements of a Christian character, and in facility of utterance, he has seldom been excelled. He was one of the four evangelists of Lombard St. Church, and long will he be heartily remembered by the Universalists of Philadelphia.

GENERAL INDEX.

Albany Register, 1790, 37.
Andrews, Rev. L. F. W., 96.
Ashton, Rev. Samuel, 213.
Bachelor Hall, 22.
Bacon, Rev. Henry, 126, 159.
Bailey, Rev. Chas. S., 120.
Bailey, Rev. Giles, 217.
Baker, Rev. Z., 313.
Balch, Rev. William S., 291.
Ballou, Rev. Adin, 274.
Ballou, Rev. H., 76, 103, 165, 301, 315.
Ballou, Rev. M., 117, 293.
Ballou, Silas, 141.
Ballou, Rev. William S., 304.
Banger, Rev. Timothy, 55.
Banger and Campbell, 160.
Banner Cry of Zion, 199.
Baptism in 1790, 150.
Barber, Rev. Wm. N., 216.
Barnes, Rev. Albert, 127, 174.
Barnes and Edwards, 177.
Bartholomew, Rev. J. G., 330.
Barton, Clara, 258.
Bates, Rev. Barnabas, 281.
Benedict on E. W., 39.
Benezet, Anthony, 24.
Birdsall, Jacob, 253.
Bisbee, Rev. John, 82.
Blanchard, Rev. H., 329.
Boas, Frederick S., 217.
Bolles, Rev. E. C., 330.
Boone, James, 200.
Briggs, Rev. L. L., 126.
Briner, Lewis, 211.
Brooklyn Churches, 327.
Brooks, Rev. E. G., 126, 318.
Brown, Alice, 190.
Brown, Henry H., 288, 291.
Brown, Thomas, 194.
Brownlee, Rev. W. C., 287.
Brownson, O. A., 129.
Bulkeley, Rev. S. C., 231.
Burbank, William, 327.
Burden, Dr. J. R., 91, 94.
Burial Grounds, 92.
Burr, Rev. C. C., 113.
Callingham, James, 345.
Callowhill St. Church, 77.
Campbell, Rev. J. H., 254, 315.
Canfield, Rev. A. J., 332.
Carney, Rev. T. J., 119.
Cary Sisters, 338.
Cedar Grove School, 226.
Centenary School, 333.
Chambers, Rev. John, 83.

Chapin, Rev. E. H., 305.
Christian Messenger, 284.
Christ's Miracles, 173.
Christ's Summary, 167.
Christ our Advocate, 175.
Church Bells, 219, 295.
Church Chains, 90.
Church, a Dumb, 196.
Churches into Theatres, 115.
Church of Restitution, 69.
Church on the Coast, 252.
Church in New Hanover, 192.
Clarke's Plea, 184.
Clermont Avenue Chapel, 330.
Clowes, Dr. Timothy, 139.
Collins, Rev. G., 130, 239.
Combe, Dr. George, 109.
Condie, Dr. D. F., 124, 145.
Confession of 1790, 34.
Convergent paths, 323.
Cook, Rev. T. D., 113.
Corrections of Opinion, 97.
Coval reviewed, 123.
Cox, Nathaniel, 241.
Cox, Rev. Nicholas, 40.
Cravens, Rev. Charles, 330.
Cuthbert, Anthony, 25, 32.
Damnation Murray, 259.
Day of Fasting, 93.
Death of Mrs. Murray, 38.
De Benneville, Geo., 17, 201.
Demarest, Rev. G. L., 324.
Discussion, Ely and T., 93.
Dobson, Thomas, 156.
Dodge, Rev. N., 81, 273, 335.
Doolittle, Rev. N., 114.
Duane St. Church, 299.
Duché, Rev. Jacob, 25.
Eddy, Rev. R., 114, 133.
Ely, Rev. E. S., 88, 93, 214.
Ely, James G., 234.
Ely, Joseph J., 235.
Espy, James P., 157.
Evangelist, New York, 307.
Evans, Rev. David, 18, 27.
Excelsior in Hightstown, 240.
Fallen Altars, 206.
Fay, Rev. Cyrus H., 310.
Fiske, Rev. T., 85, 119, 240.
Fitch, John, 161.
Fitz, Henry, 271.
Fifth Society, N. Y., 313.
Flanders, Rev. G. T., 324.
Fletcher, Rev. Abel, 236.
Fletcher, Rev. L. J., 330.
Fluhrer, Rev. Charles, 327.
Foster, Rev. John, 268.
Fourth Society, N. Y., 301.
Francis, Rev. Eben, 254.
Francis, Dr. J. W., 269.
Franklin to Whitefield, 152.
Free Mason's Lodge, 30.
Fuller, Rev. S. W., 96, 101, 112, 114.
Fuller, Rev. Zelotes, 85.
Gage, Rev. Almon, 334.
Gallager, Rev. James, 253.
Gano, Rev. John, 257.
Gaylord, Rev. N. M., 329.
Gilson, Rev. David, 71.
Good Helpers, 151.
Good Luck, 231.

Goodrich, Rev. J. T., 117, 159.
Gospel Liturgy, 131.
Gospel Herald, 271, 276.
Gospel Principles, 168.
Grandeur of Christ, 173.
Grand St. Church, 280.
Grosh, Rev. A. B., 113, 203.
Grosh, Jacob, 204.
Green Avenue Church, 330.
Green Point Church, 333.
Gunnison, Rev. A., 333.
Harlem Society, 326.
Hallock, Rev. B. B., 313, 337.
Hall, James, 335.
Harris, Rev. Thomas L., 305.
Harsen, Cornelius, 288.
Harsen Relief Fund, 339.
Hatfield, Rev. E. F., 309.
Hathaway, Rev. E., 244, 255.
Hawley, Rev. W. L., 208, 210.
Hay-Barn Church, 198.
Heathen Dogmas, 102.
Henry, Rev. S. C., 230.
Hillyer, Rev. S. J., 229, 284.
Holy Ghost, 174.
Hughes and Berg, 127.
Hymn Books in Philad., 140.
Inscription, an offensive, 274.
Institutes in Philad., 103.
Ins and Outs, 314.
Interesting Record, 249.
Johnes, Daniel, 223.
Johnes, Samuel C., 223, 237.
Jones, Rev. H. G., 27.
Jones, Rev. Thomas, 57, 66.
Keims, of Reading, 219.
Kennedy, Dr. A. L., 124.
Kensington, 104, 118.
King, Thomas F., 334.
King, Rev. W. W., 332.
Kneeland, A., 72, 78, 275.
Kneeland and McCalla, 77.
Kredel, Rev. G. J., 216.
Lamp of Liberty, 344.
Lawrence, Robert, 195.
Lee, Rev. Charles F., 316.
Lee, Rev. Day K., 293, 332.
Le Fevre, Rev. C. F., 234.
Leonard, Rev. H. C., 134.
Lester, Rev. Ebenezer, 71, 158.
Liturgy and Sermons, 131.
Livermore, Harriet, 56.
Lloyd, Rev. S. H., 313.
Longenecker, Rev. S., 204.
Love and Penalty, 322.
Lyon, Rev. Henry, 332, 337.
Lumsden, Rev. G. L., 118.
Macknight's Suggestion, 184.
Magazine, Free U., 53, 192, 262.
Marsh, Pamela, 139.
Marsh, William B., 336.
Marshall, Christopher, 156.
Mason, Rev. L. B., 113, 338.
Mason's Lodge, 32, 63.
McCalla and Kneeland, 78.
McCalla and Thomas, 105.
McChesney, Dr. J. E., 241.
McMaster, Rev. J. W., 120.
Messiah, Church of, 126.
Mission School, N. Y., 326.
Mitchell, Rev. E., 80, 265.

Moore, Rev. A., 110, 237, 317.
Morse, Rev. Pitt, 82, 159.
Morse, Rev. William, 80.
Mother, a Dumb, 326.
Murray, Rev. John, 20, 257.
Murray and Winchester, 162.
Murray, Rev. Noah, 57, 66.
Myers, Rev. Jacob, 204.
Myers, Rev. John F., 274.
Native Americans, 118.
New Departure in Philad., 72.
Norton, Richard, 224, 239.
Nye, Rev. H. R., 315, 329, 331.
Orchard Gathering, 232.
Orchard St. Church, 285, 319.
Organization, Value of, 187.
Old Meeting-House, 189.
Old Baptist Church, 243.
One hundred per cent., 132.
Origin and History, 166.
Painting, Symbolic, 218.
Palmer, Rev. J. S., 215.
Palmer, William, 268.
Parker, Rev. John N., 313.
Parker's Lectures, 310.
Party in Politics, 88.
Patterson, Dr. Henry S., 124.
Patterson, Rev. James, 101.
Penalty of Sin, 300.
Pennsylvania Convention, 147.
Periodicals in New York, 340.
Periodicals in Philad., 143.
Perry, Rev. John, 119, 212.
Peters, Rev. B., 217, 332.
Philad. Conv. of 1790, 34.
Phonotypy, Kneeland's, 145.
Phila. Union Association, 146.
Pickering, Rev. David, 299.
Potter, Thomas, 20, 244.
Potter's M. H., 21, 229, 248.
Presbyterians and Infidels, 98.
Price, Philo, 230, 335.
Priestly, Dr. Joseph, 154.
Priestly and Winchester, 343.
Prince St. Church, 273.
Proclamations, 99.
Prophet in a Cave, 278.
Publishing House in P., 121.
Pullen, Isaac, 242.
Pullman, Rev. J. M., 318.
Queries in Baltimore, 345.
Ransom, Barzillai, 339.
Rayner, Rev. Menzies, 291.
Reading, Universalism in, 208.
Reading, Dr. Ely in, 214.
Recommendations of '90, 148.
Religious Tests, 106.
Relly's Hymn Book, 26, 222.
Relly's MS. Sketches, 20.
Relly's Specimens, 23.
Remington, Rev. S. H., 300.
Removal of Rev. S. W. F., 114.
Representative Men, 170.
Rich, Rev. Caleb, 166.
Richards, Rev. George, 66.
Ritter, John, 207.
Roberts, Rev. Henry, 289.
Roberts, Rev. Martin, 118.
Robinson, Rev. A. H., 321.
Rush, Dr. B., to E. W., 152.
Rutter, Elder John, 59.
Salter, Hon. Edwin, 249.

Sarjent, Rev. A., 53, 192, 262.
Sawyer, Rev. T. J., 283, etc.
Sawyer, Mrs. C. M., 341.
Say, Thomas, 154.
Schaum, Rev. Carl, 338.
Scheme Withdrawn, 131.
Scott, James, 202.
Seagrave, Rev. Artis, 46.
Second Society, N. Y., 285.
Second Society, Philad., 75.
Shepard, Rev. J. H., 318.
Shippen, Dr. William, 153.
Shipwreck of Partialism, 209.
Shrigley, Rev. J., 126, 215.
Siegvolt, Paul, 18, 201, 223.
Simmons, Edwards, 134.
Sin against Holy Ghost, 170.
Sixth Society, N. Y., 317.
Skinner, Rev. O. A., 312.
Skinner, Rev. Thomas H., 73.
Slocum, Rev. J. J., 296.
Spirits in Prison, 172.
Smith, Rev. M. H., 310.
Smith, Dr. William P., 261.
Smith, Rev. S. R., 81, 159, 286.
Snell, Rev. N., 161, 317.
Stuart, Carlos D., 336.
Sunday Mails, 89.
Sunday Schools in Phila., 135.
Sunday Schools in N. Y., 298.
Sweetzer, Rev. E. C., 293.
Tabernacle, Brooklyn, 328.
Tests of Faith, 314.
Thayer, Rev. F. F., 328.
Thayer, Rev. T. B., 213, 328.
Third Society in N. Y., 288.
Thomas, Rev. A. C., 87, 286.
Thompson, Rev. John S., 148.
Through The Pines, 247.
Tillotson's Suggestion, 183.
Tillotson, Rev. B. M., 117.
Tomlinson, Rev. C. W., 120.
Tunkers and Banger, 159.
Unitarian Univ'm 1793, 263.
Unity in diversity, 168.
Universal Baptists, 31, 62, 161.
Univ't Conv. of 1790, 34, 37.
University Hall, 29.
Upham Brothers, 225.
Voice from the Grave, 73.
Waretown Church, 252.
Walworth, Rev. H. R., 240.
Watt's Suggestion, 184.
Weed, Thurlow, 269.
Westcott, Rev. Isaac, 320.
Whiston, Rev. O., 208, 282.
Whitcomb, Rev. T. J., 237.
Whitefield, Rev. George, 29.
Whittaker, Rev. Wm., 301.
Whittemore, Samuel, 289.
Wild, Rev. Samuel, 283.
Williamsburg Church, 331.
Williamson, Rev. I. D., 126, 304, 315.
Winchester Confession, 38.
Winchester, Rev. E., 27, 65.
Winchester, Rev. Moses, 54.
Windows, Illuminated, 339.
Worth, Rev. William, 42.
Wright, Frances, 276.
Young, Dr. Joseph, 261.
Young Men's Association, 340.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

This book is due on the date indicated below, or at the expiration of a definite period after the date of borrowing, as provided by the rules of the Library or by special arrangement with the Librarian in charge.

DATE BORROWED	DATE DUE	DATE BORROWED	DATE DUE
	[illegible]		
	JUN 25 1949		

C28(239)M100

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
0035521880

938.91 T36

10615 3691

BRITTLE DO NOT PHOTOCOPY